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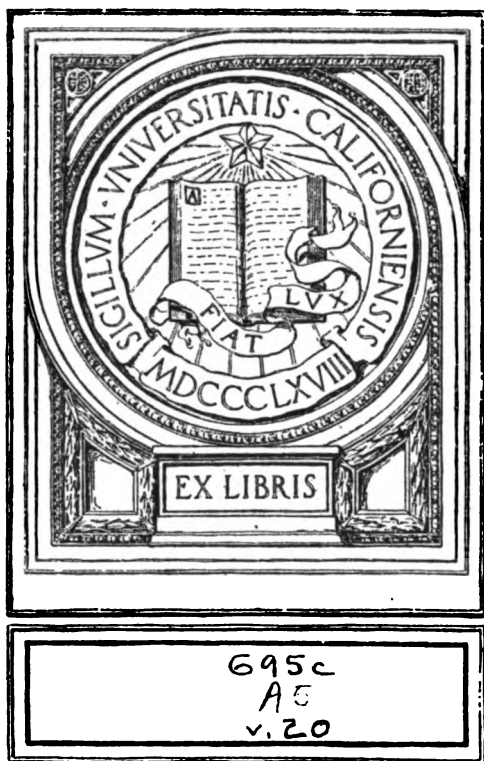
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THE  
AMERICAN JOURNAL  
OF  
SEMITIC LANGUAGES  
AND LITERATURES  
(CONTINUING "HEBRAICA")

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THE AMERICAN JOURNAL  
OF  
SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

(CONTINUING "HEBRAICA")

VOLUME XX

OCTOBER, 1903

NUMBER 1

TEXT OF THE CODE OF HAMMURABI, KING OF  
BABYLON (ABOUT 2250 B. C.).

EDITED BY ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER

With the co-operation of A. H. Godbey.

The Text as presented in the following pages has been reconstructed and edited from the photographs published by Scheil, *Code des lois de Hammurabi*. It is a preprint from my edition of the Hammurabi Code which I hope to have ready in December. This edition will contain (1) a Map; (2) a short Historical Preface; (3) a short Introduction on the Text, Language of the Code, etc.; (4) the Text; (5) a Transliteration; (6) a Transliteration; (7) a Glossary; (8) a List of Proper Names; (9) a List of Signs; (10) Indices, and (11) a Photograph of the Monument on which the Code is written.

Under (3) note will be taken of 1) the different scribes who copied this Code; 2) the scribal mistakes, of which there is a large number; 3) erasures; and under (9) the various forms of the Signs will be listed.

To edit a text from a photograph is a very different task from editing from the original. No one can appreciate this more keenly than I. In fact, I am of opinion that an edition of an

Assyrian or Babylonian text which is to be final must go back to the originals. Hence there may be room for difference of opinion in regard to many small wedges which are not essential to any form of the Signs in which they are found.

Some restorations have been attempted, and in these I have for the most part followed Scheil. I have, however, been obliged to differ from him in some places. Only such restorations were made as seemed to me to be fairly certain. Others, which were less certain, will be offered in the Transliteration.

In the preparation of this text, I have had the faithful co-operation of my pupil, Mr. A. H. Godbey, Fellow in Semitics in the University of Chicago. Mr. Godbey has autographed the text and to him and Mrs. Godbey is due the present form. I am also greatly indebted to Professor Ira M. Price, who has read proofs of about one-half of the Plates, and to my pupil, R. B. McSwain, Professor in Southwestern University, Georgetown, Texas, who has rendered me valuable assistance in many ways. The final responsibility, however, rests upon me.

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COLUMN I.

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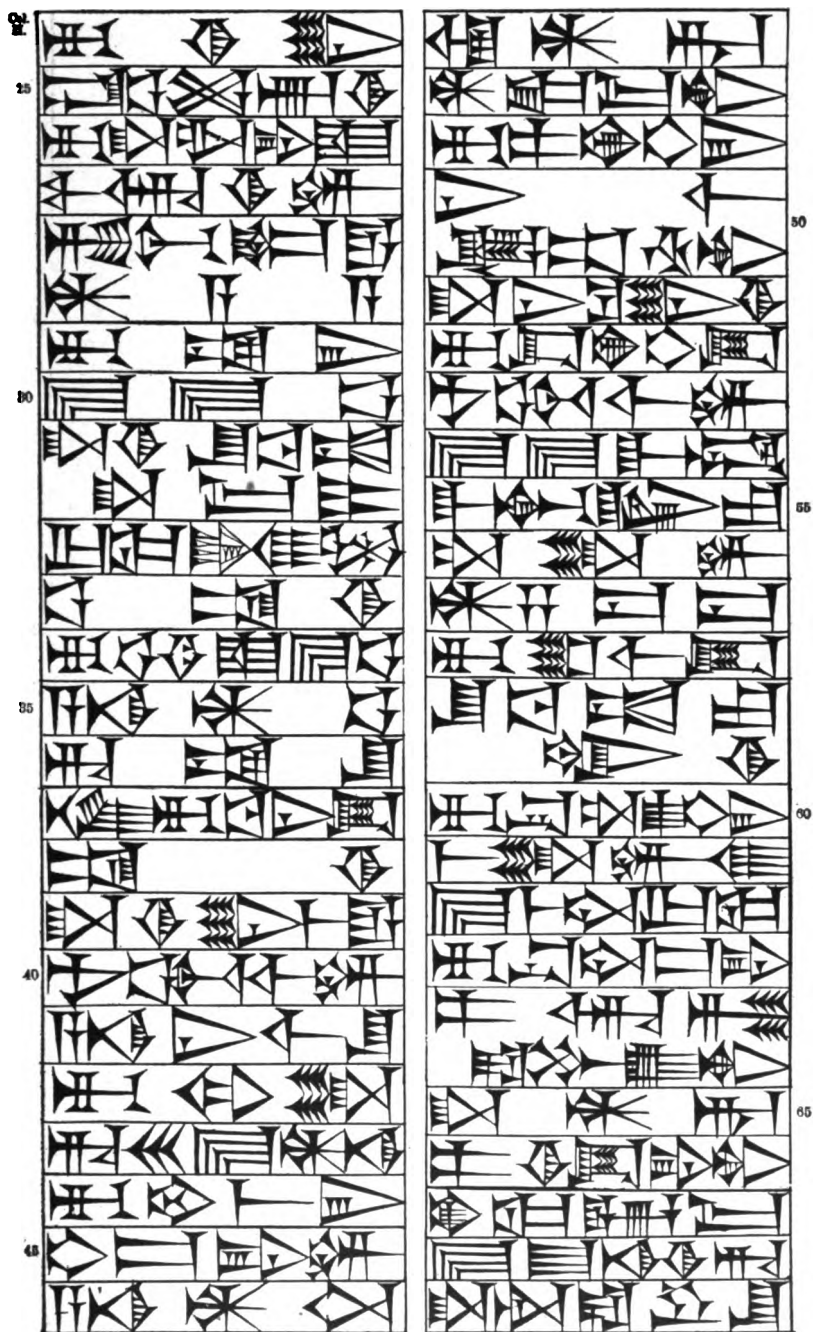
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45	𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆𐴇𐴈𐴉𐴊𐴋𐴌𐴍𐴎𐴏𐴐𐴑𐴒𐴓𐴔𐴕𐴖𐴗𐴘𐴙𐴚𐴛𐴜𐴝𐴞𐴟𐴠𐴡𐴢𐴣𐴤𐴥𐴦𐴧𐴨𐴩𐴪𐴫𐴬𐴭𐴮𐴯𐴰𐴱𐴲𐴳𐴴𐴵𐴶𐴷𐴸𐴹𐴺𐴻𐴼𐴽𐴾𐴿𐵀𐵁𐵂𐵃𐵄𐵅𐵆𐵇𐵈𐵉𐵊𐵋𐵌𐵍𐵎𐵏𐵐𐵑𐵒𐵓𐵔𐵕𐵖𐵗𐵘𐵙𐵚𐵛𐵜𐵝𐵞𐵟𐵠𐵡𐵢𐵣𐵤𐵥𐵦𐵧𐵨𐵩𐵪𐵫𐵬𐵭𐵮𐵯𐵰𐵱𐵲𐵳𐵴𐵵𐵶𐵷𐵸𐵹𐵺𐵻𐵼𐵽𐵾𐵿𐶀𐶁𐶂𐶃𐶄𐶅𐶆𐶇𐶈𐶉𐶊𐶋𐶌𐶍𐶎𐶏𐶐𐶑𐶒𐶓𐶔𐶕𐶖𐶗𐶘𐶙𐶚𐶛𐶜𐶝𐶞𐶟𐶠𐶡𐶢𐶣𐶤𐶥𐶦𐶧𐶨𐶩𐶪𐶫𐶬𐶭𐶮𐶯𐶰𐶱𐶲𐶳𐶴𐶵𐶶𐶷𐶸𐶹𐶺𐶻𐶼𐶽𐶾𐶿𐷀𐷁𐷂𐷃𐷄𐷅𐷆𐷇𐷈𐷉𐷊𐷋𐷌𐷍𐷎𐷏𐷐𐷑𐷒𐷓𐷔𐷕𐷖𐷗𐷘𐷙𐷚𐷛𐷜𐷝𐷞𐷟𐷠𐷡𐷢𐷣𐷤𐷥𐷦𐷧𐷨𐷩𐷪𐷫𐷬𐷭𐷮𐷯𐷰𐷱𐷲𐷳𐷴𐷵𐷶𐷷𐷸𐷹𐷺𐷻𐷼𐷽𐷾𐷿𐸀𐸁𐸂𐸃𐸄𐸅𐸆𐸇𐸈𐸉𐸊𐸋𐸌𐸍𐸎𐸏𐸐𐸑𐸒𐸓𐸔𐸕𐸖𐸗𐸘𐸙𐸚𐸛𐸜𐸝𐸞𐸟𐸠𐸡𐸢𐸣𐸤𐸥𐸦𐸧𐸨𐸩𐸪𐸫𐸬𐸭𐸮𐸯𐸰𐸱𐸲𐸳𐸴𐸵𐸶𐸷𐸸𐸹𐸺𐸻𐸼𐸽𐸾𐸿𐹀𐹁𐹂𐹃𐹄𐹅𐹆𐹇𐹈𐹉𐹊𐹋𐹌𐹍𐹎𐹏𐹐𐹑𐹒𐹓𐹔𐹕𐹖𐹗𐹘𐹙𐹚𐹛𐹜𐹝𐹞𐹟𐹠𐹡𐹢𐹣𐹤𐹥𐹦𐹧𐹨𐹩𐹪𐹫𐹬𐹭𐹮𐹯𐹰𐹱𐹲𐹳𐹴𐹵𐹶𐹷𐹸𐹹𐹺𐹻𐹼𐹽𐹾𐹿𐺀𐺁𐺂𐺃𐺄𐺅𐺆𐺇𐺈𐺉𐺊𐺋𐺌𐺍𐺎𐺏𐺐𐺑𐺒𐺓𐺔𐺕𐺖𐺗𐺘𐺙𐺚𐺛𐺜𐺝𐺞𐺟𐺠𐺡𐺢𐺣𐺤𐺥𐺦𐺧𐺨𐺩𐺪𐺫𐺬𐺭𐺮𐺯𐺰𐺱𐺲𐺳𐺴𐺵𐺶𐺷𐺸𐺹𐺺𐺻𐺼𐺽𐺾𐺿𐻀𐻁𐻂𐻃𐻄𐻅𐻆𐻇𐻈𐻉𐻊𐻋𐻌𐻍𐻎𐻏𐻐𐻑𐻒𐻓𐻔𐻕𐻖𐻗𐻘𐻙𐻚𐻛𐻜𐻝𐻞𐻟𐻠𐻡𐻢𐻣𐻤𐻥𐻦𐻧𐻨𐻩𐻪𐻫𐻬𐻭𐻮𐻯𐻰𐻱𐻲𐻳𐻴𐻵𐻶𐻷𐻸𐻹𐻺𐻻𐻼𐻽𐻾𐻿𐼀𐼁𐼂𐼃𐼄𐼅𐼆𐼇𐼈𐼉𐼊𐼋𐼌𐼍𐼎𐼏𐼐𐼑𐼒𐼓𐼔𐼕𐼖𐼗𐼘𐼙𐼚𐼛𐼜𐼝𐼞𐼟𐼠𐼡𐼢𐼣𐼤𐼥𐼦𐼧𐼨𐼩𐼪𐼫𐼬𐼭𐼮𐼯𐼰𐼱𐼲𐼳𐼴𐼵𐼶𐼷𐼸𐼹𐼺𐼻𐼼𐼽𐼾𐼿𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃𐽄𐽅𐽆𐽇𐽋𐽍𐽎𐽏𐽐𐽈𐽉𐽊𐽌𐽑𐽒𐽓𐽔𐽕𐽖𐽗𐽘𐽙𐽚𐽛𐽜𐽝𐽞𐽟𐽠𐽡𐽢𐽣𐽤𐽥𐽦𐽧𐽨𐽩𐽪𐽫𐽬𐽭𐽮𐽯𐽰𐽱𐽲𐽳𐽴𐽵𐽶𐽷𐽸𐽹𐽺𐽻𐽼𐽽𐽾𐽿𐾀𐾁𐾃𐾅𐾂𐾄𐾆𐾇𐾈𐾉𐾊𐾋𐾌𐾍𐾎𐾏𐾐𐾑𐾒𐾓𐾔𐾕𐾖𐾗𐾘𐾙𐾚𐾛𐾜𐾝𐾞𐾟𐾠𐾡𐾢𐾣𐾤𐾥𐾦𐾧𐾨𐾩𐾪𐾫𐾬𐾭𐾮𐾯𐾰𐾱𐾲𐾳𐾴𐾵𐾶𐾷𐾸𐾹𐾺𐾻𐾼𐾽𐾾𐾿𐿀𐿁𐿂𐿃𐿄𐿅𐿆𐿇𐿈𐿉𐿊𐿋𐿌𐿍𐿎𐿏𐿐𐿑𐿒𐿓𐿔𐿕𐿖𐿗𐿘𐿙𐿚𐿛𐿜𐿝𐿞𐿟𐿠𐿡𐿢𐿣𐿤𐿥𐿦𐿧𐿨𐿩𐿪𐿫𐿬𐿭𐿮𐿯𐿰𐿱𐿲𐿳𐿴𐿵𐿶𐿷𐿸𐿹𐿺𐿻𐿼𐿽𐿾𐿿𐀀𐀁𐀂𐀃𐀄𐀅𐀆𐀇𐀈𐀉𐀊𐀋𐀌𐀍𐀎𐀏𐀐𐀑𐀒𐀓𐀔𐀕𐀖𐀗𐀘𐀙𐀚𐀛𐀜𐀝𐀞𐀟𐀠𐀡𐀢𐀣𐀤𐀥𐀦𐀧𐀨𐀩𐀪𐀫𐀬𐀭𐀮𐀯𐀰𐀱𐀲𐀳𐀴𐀵𐀶𐀷𐀸𐀹𐀺𐀻𐀼𐀽𐀾𐀿𐁀𐁁𐁂𐁃𐁄𐁅𐁆𐁇𐁈𐁉𐁊𐁋𐁌𐁍𐁎𐁏𐁐𐁑𐁒𐁓𐁔𐁕𐁖𐁗𐁘𐁙𐁚𐁛𐁜𐁝𐁞𐁟𐁠𐁡𐁢𐁣𐁤𐁥𐁦𐁧𐁨𐁩𐁪𐁫𐁬𐁭𐁮𐁯𐁰𐁱𐁲𐁳𐁴𐁵𐁶𐁷𐁸𐁹𐁺𐁻𐁼𐁽𐁾𐁿𐂀𐂁𐂂𐂃𐂄𐂅𐂆𐂇𐂈𐂉𐂊𐂋𐂌𐂍𐂎𐂏𐂐𐂑𐂒𐂓𐂔𐂕𐂖𐂗𐂘𐂙𐂚𐂛𐂜𐂝𐂞𐂟𐂠𐂡𐂢𐂣𐂤𐂥𐂦𐂧𐂨𐂩𐂪𐂫𐂬𐂭𐂮𐂯𐂰𐂱𐂲𐂳𐂴𐂵𐂶𐂷𐂸𐂹𐂺𐂻𐂼𐂽𐂾𐂿𐃀𐃁𐃂𐃃𐃄𐃅𐃆𐃇𐃈𐃉𐃊𐃋𐃌𐃍𐃎𐃏𐃐𐃑𐃒𐃓𐃔𐃕𐃖𐃗𐃘𐃙𐃚𐃛𐃜𐃝𐃞𐃟𐃠𐃡𐃢𐃣𐃤𐃥𐃦𐃧𐃨𐃩𐃪𐃫𐃬𐃭𐃮𐃯𐃰𐃱𐃲𐃳𐃴𐃵𐃶𐃷𐃸𐃹𐃺𐃻𐃼𐃽𐃾𐃿𐄀𐄁𐄂𐄃𐄄𐄅𐄆𐄇𐄈𐄉𐄊𐄋𐄌𐄍𐄎𐄏𐄐𐄑𐄒𐄓𐄔𐄕𐄖𐄗𐄘𐄙𐄚𐄛𐄜𐄝𐄞𐄟𐄠𐄡𐄢𐄣𐄤𐄥𐄦𐄧𐄨𐄩𐄪𐄫𐄬𐄭𐄮𐄯𐄰𐄱𐄲𐄳𐄴𐄵𐄶𐄷𐄸𐄹𐄺𐄻𐄼𐄽𐄾𐄿𐅀𐅁𐅂𐅃𐅄𐅅𐅆𐅇𐅈𐅉𐅊𐅋𐅌𐅍𐅎𐅏𐅐𐅑𐅒𐅓𐅔𐅕𐅖𐅗𐅘𐅙𐅚𐅛𐅜𐅝𐅞𐅟𐅠𐅡𐅢𐅣𐅤𐅥𐅦𐅧𐅨𐅩𐅪𐅫𐅬𐅭𐅮𐅯𐅰𐅱𐅲𐅳𐅴𐅵𐅶𐅷𐅸𐅹𐅺𐅻𐅼𐅽𐅾𐅿𐆀𐆁𐆂𐆃𐆄𐆅𐆆𐆇𐆈𐆉𐆊𐆋𐆌𐆍𐆎𐆏𐆐𐆑𐆒𐆓𐆔𐆕𐆖𐆗𐆘𐆙𐆚𐆛𐆜𐆝𐆞𐆟𐆠𐆡𐆢𐆣𐆤𐆥𐆦𐆧𐆨𐆩𐆪𐆫𐆬𐆭𐆮𐆯𐆰𐆱𐆲𐆳𐆴𐆵𐆶𐆷𐆸𐆹𐆺𐆻𐆼𐆽𐆾𐆿𐇀𐇁𐇂𐇃𐇄𐇅𐇆𐇇𐇈𐇉𐇊𐇋𐇌𐇍𐇎𐇏𐇐𐇑𐇒𐇓𐇔𐇕𐇖𐇗𐇘𐇙𐇚𐇛𐇜𐇝𐇞𐇟𐇠𐇡𐇢𐇣𐇤𐇥𐇦𐇧𐇨𐇩𐇪𐇫𐇬𐇭𐇮𐇯𐇰𐇱𐇲𐇳𐇴𐇵𐇶𐇷𐇸𐇹𐇺𐇻𐇼𐇽𐇾𐇿𐈀𐈁𐈂𐈃𐈄𐈅𐈆𐈇𐈈𐈉𐈊𐈋𐈌𐈍𐈎𐈏𐈐𐈑𐈒𐈓𐈔𐈕𐈖𐈗𐈘𐈙𐈚𐈛𐈜𐈝𐈞𐈟𐈠𐈡𐈢𐈣𐈤𐈥𐈦𐈧𐈨𐈩𐈪𐈫𐈬𐈭𐈮𐈯𐈰𐈱𐈲𐈳𐈴𐈵𐈶𐈷𐈸𐈹𐈺𐈻𐈼𐈽𐈾𐈿𐉀𐉁𐉂𐉃𐉄𐉅𐉆𐉇𐉈𐉉𐉊𐉋𐉌𐉍𐉎𐉏𐉐𐉑𐉒𐉓𐉔𐉕𐉖𐉗𐉘𐉙𐉚𐉛𐉜𐉝𐉞𐉟𐉠𐉡𐉢𐉣𐉤𐉥𐉦𐉧𐉨𐉩𐉪𐉫𐉬𐉭𐉮𐉯𐉰𐉱𐉲𐉳𐉴𐉵𐉶𐉷𐉸𐉹𐉺𐉻𐉼𐉽𐉾𐉿𐊀𐊁𐊂𐊃𐊄𐊅𐊆𐊇𐊈𐊉𐊊𐊋𐊌𐊍𐊎𐊏𐊐𐊑𐊒𐊓𐊔𐊕𐊖𐊗𐊘𐊙𐊚𐊛𐊜𐊝𐊞𐊟𐊠𐊡𐊢𐊣𐊤𐊥𐊦𐊧𐊨𐊩𐊪𐊫𐊬𐊭𐊮𐊯𐊰𐊱𐊲𐊳𐊴𐊵𐊶𐊷𐊸𐊹𐊺𐊻𐊼𐊽𐊾𐊿𐋀𐋁𐋂𐋃𐋄𐋅𐋆𐋇𐋈𐋉𐋊𐋋𐋌𐋍𐋎𐋏𐋐𐋑𐋒𐋓𐋔𐋕𐋖𐋗𐋘𐋙𐋚𐋛𐋜𐋝𐋞𐋟𐋠𐋡𐋢𐋣𐋤𐋥𐋦𐋧𐋨𐋩𐋪𐋫𐋬𐋭𐋮𐋯𐋰𐋱𐋲𐋳𐋴𐋵𐋶𐋷𐋸𐋹𐋺𐋻𐋼𐋽𐋾𐋿𐌀𐌁𐌂𐌃𐌄𐌅𐌆𐌇𐌈𐌉𐌊𐌋𐌌𐌍𐌎𐌏𐌐𐌑𐌒𐌓𐌔𐌕𐌖𐌗𐌘𐌙𐌚𐌛𐌜𐌝𐌞𐌟𐌠𐌡𐌢𐌣𐌤𐌥𐌦𐌧𐌨𐌩𐌪𐌫𐌬𐌭𐌮𐌯𐌰𐌱𐌲𐌳𐌴𐌵𐌶𐌷𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌻𐌼𐌽𐌾𐌿𐍀𐍁𐍂𐍃𐍄𐍅𐍆𐍇𐍈𐍉𐍊𐍋𐍌𐍍𐍎𐍏𐍐𐍑𐍒𐍓𐍔𐍕𐍖𐍗𐍘𐍙𐍚𐍛𐍜𐍝𐍞𐍟𐍠𐍡𐍢𐍣𐍤𐍥𐍦𐍧𐍨𐍩𐍪𐍫𐍬𐍭𐍮𐍯𐍰𐍱𐍲𐍳𐍴𐍵𐍶𐍷𐍸𐍹𐍺𐍻𐍼𐍽𐍾𐍿𐎀𐎁𐎂𐎃𐎄𐎅𐎆𐎇𐎈𐎉𐎊𐎋𐎌𐎍𐎎𐎏𐎐𐎑𐎒𐎓𐎔𐎕𐎖𐎗𐎘𐎙𐎚𐎛𐎜𐎝𐎞𐎟𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺
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Col.  
II.

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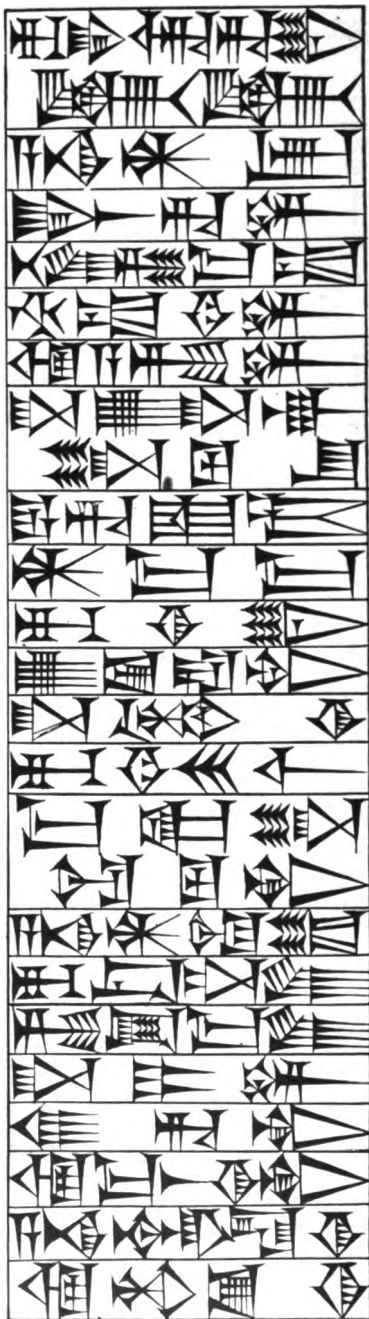
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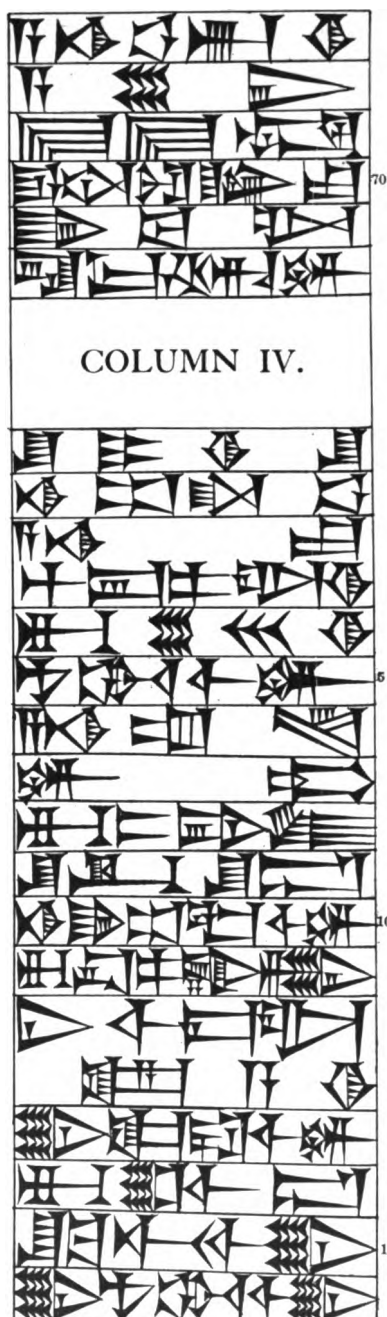
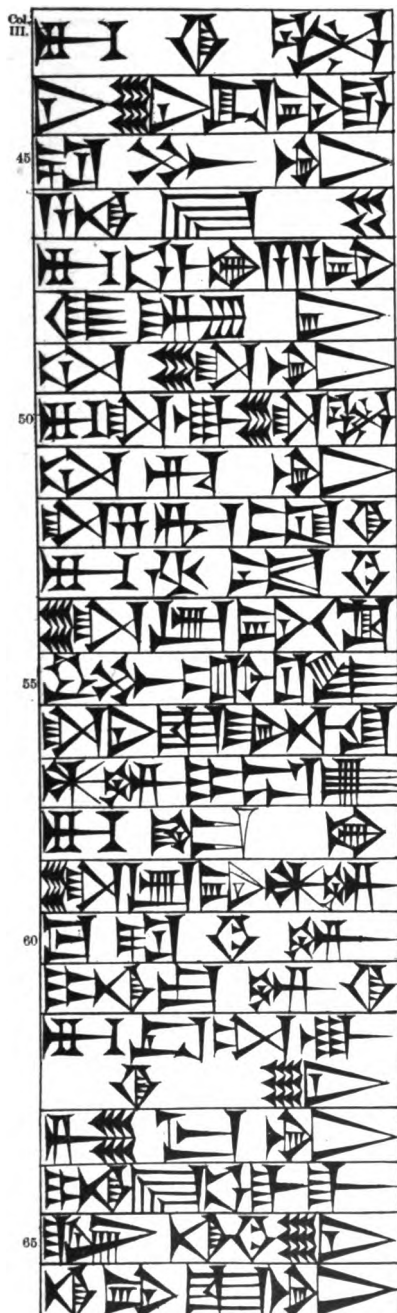


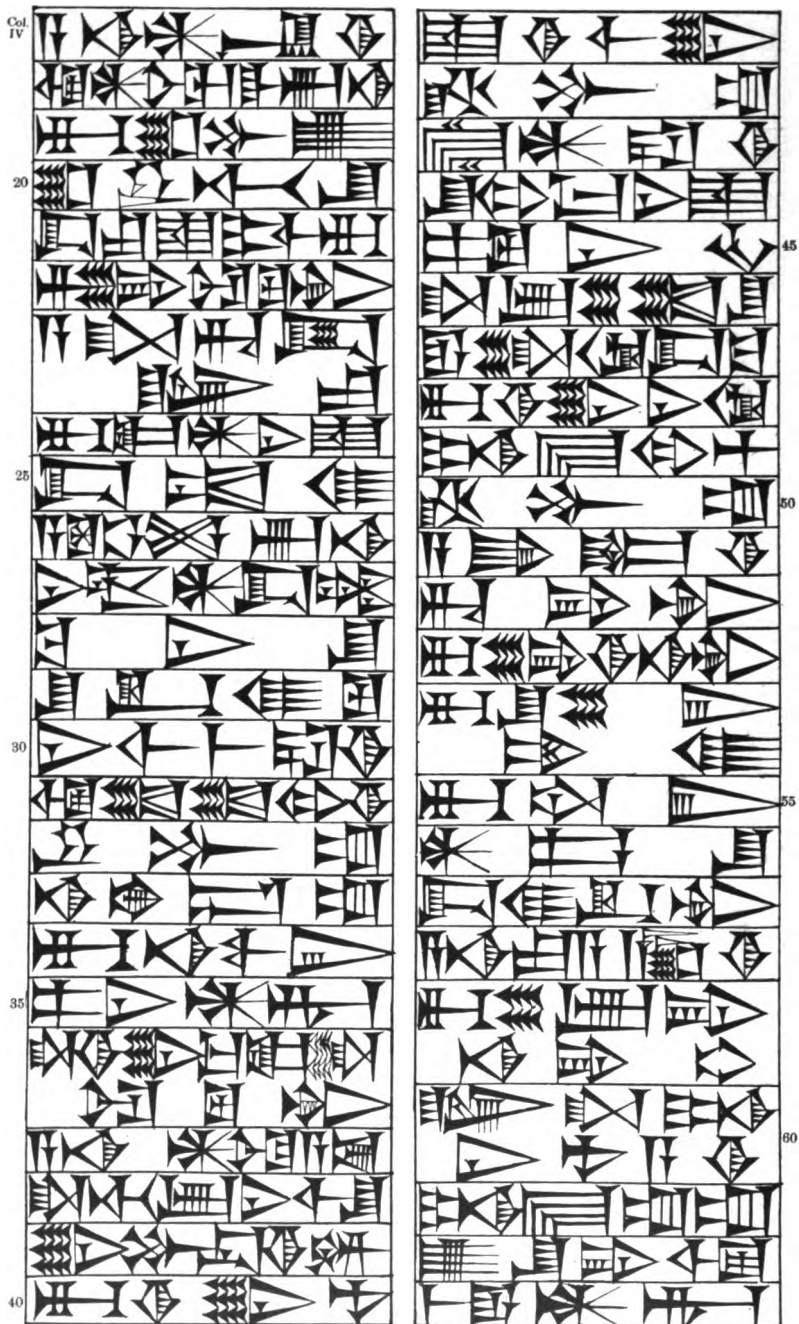
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Col.  
IV

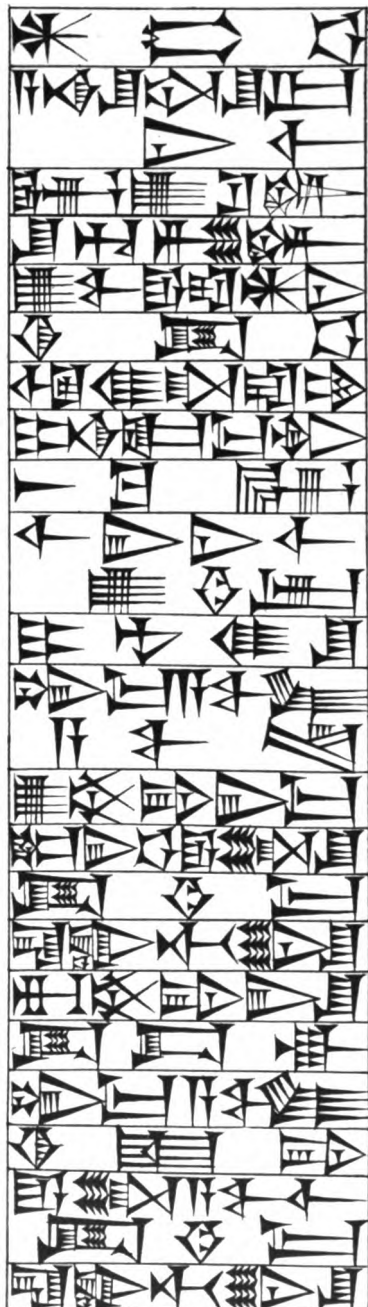
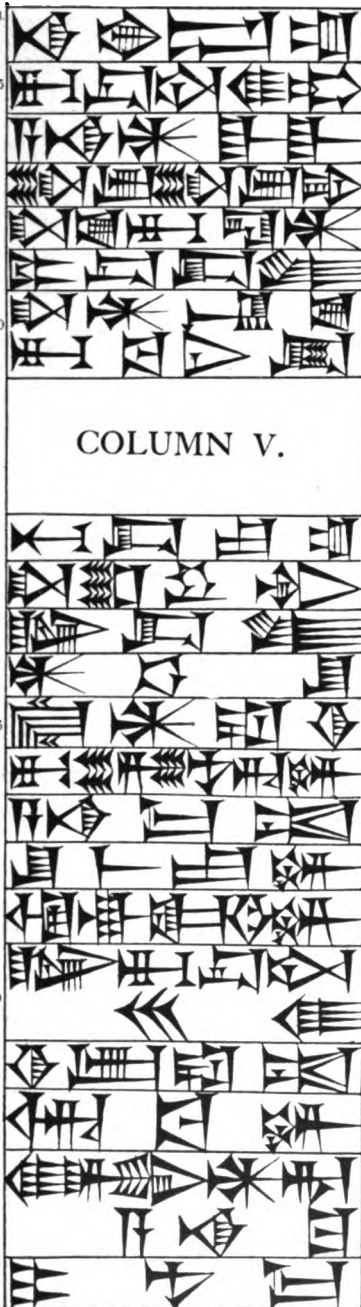
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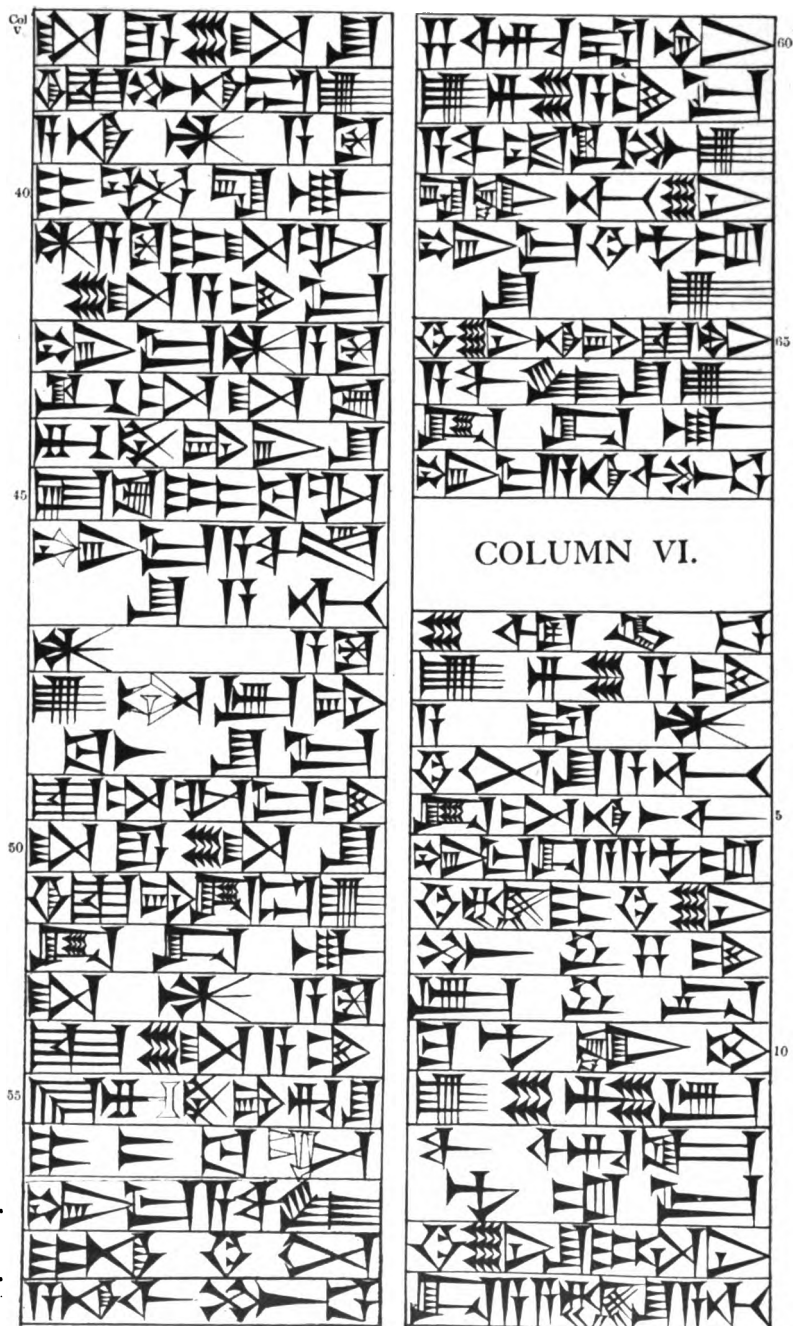
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COLUMN V.

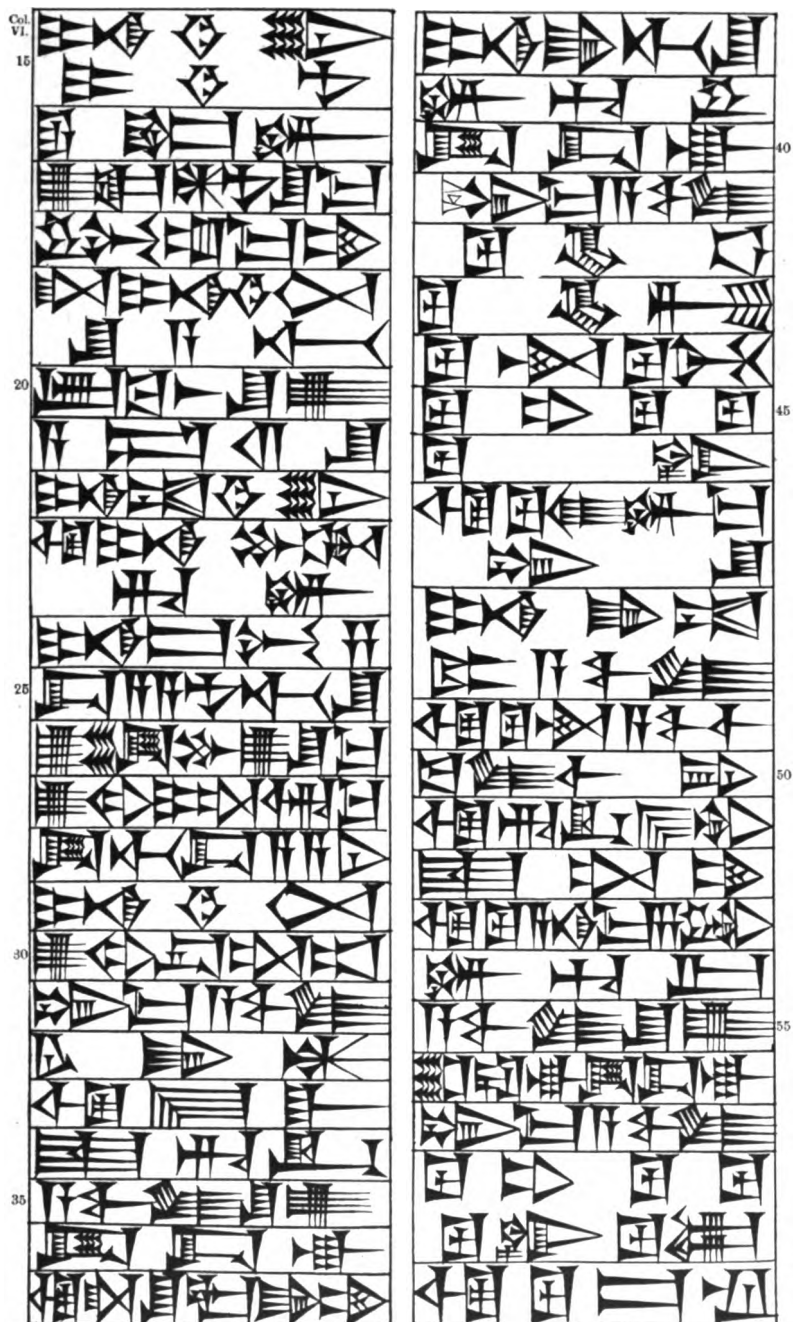
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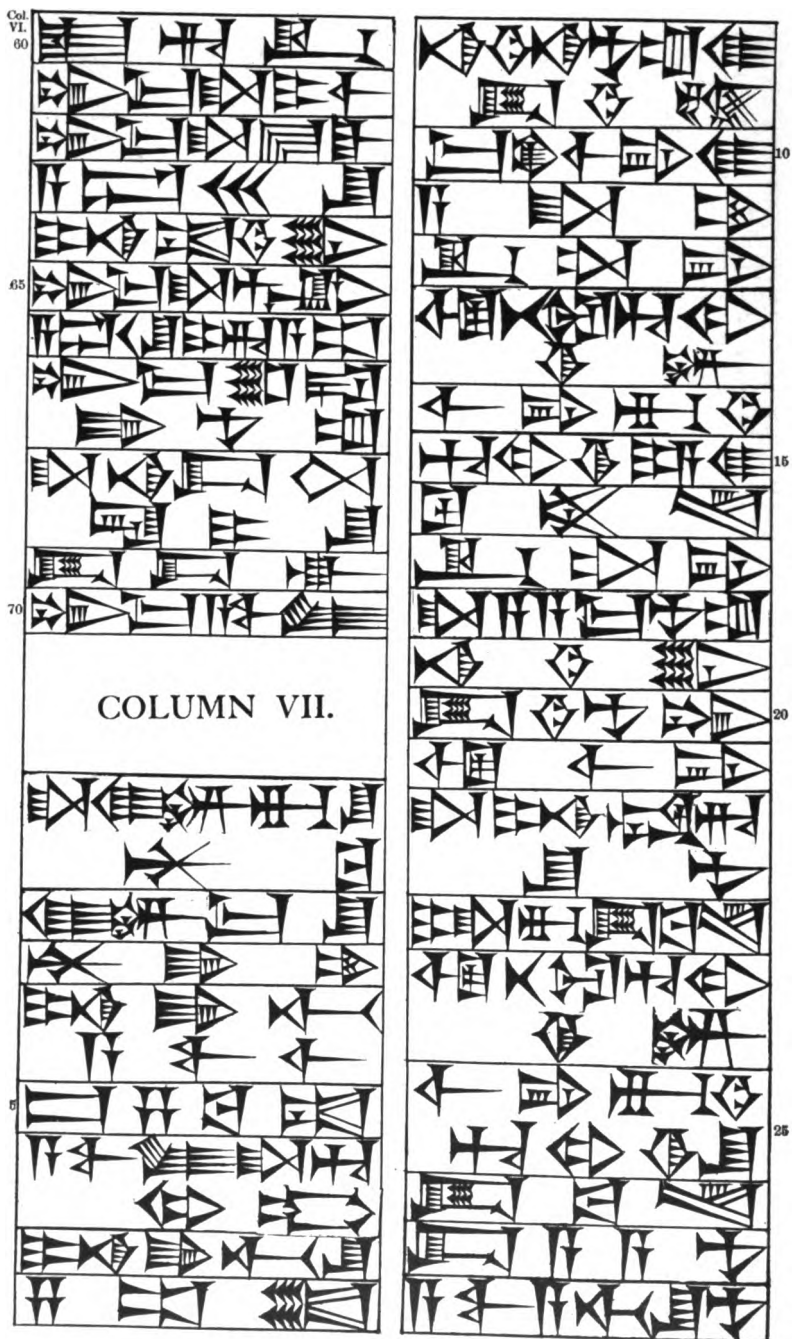
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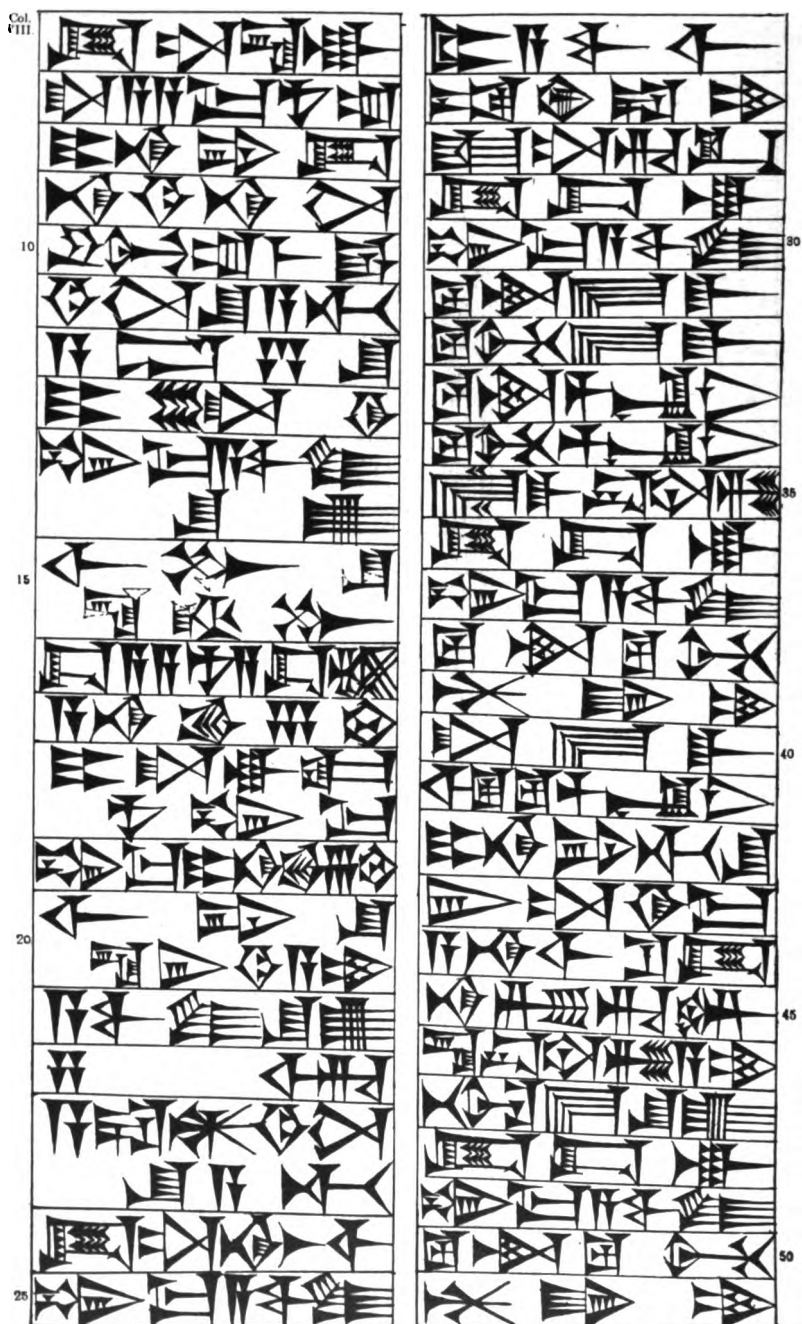


Col.  
VII.

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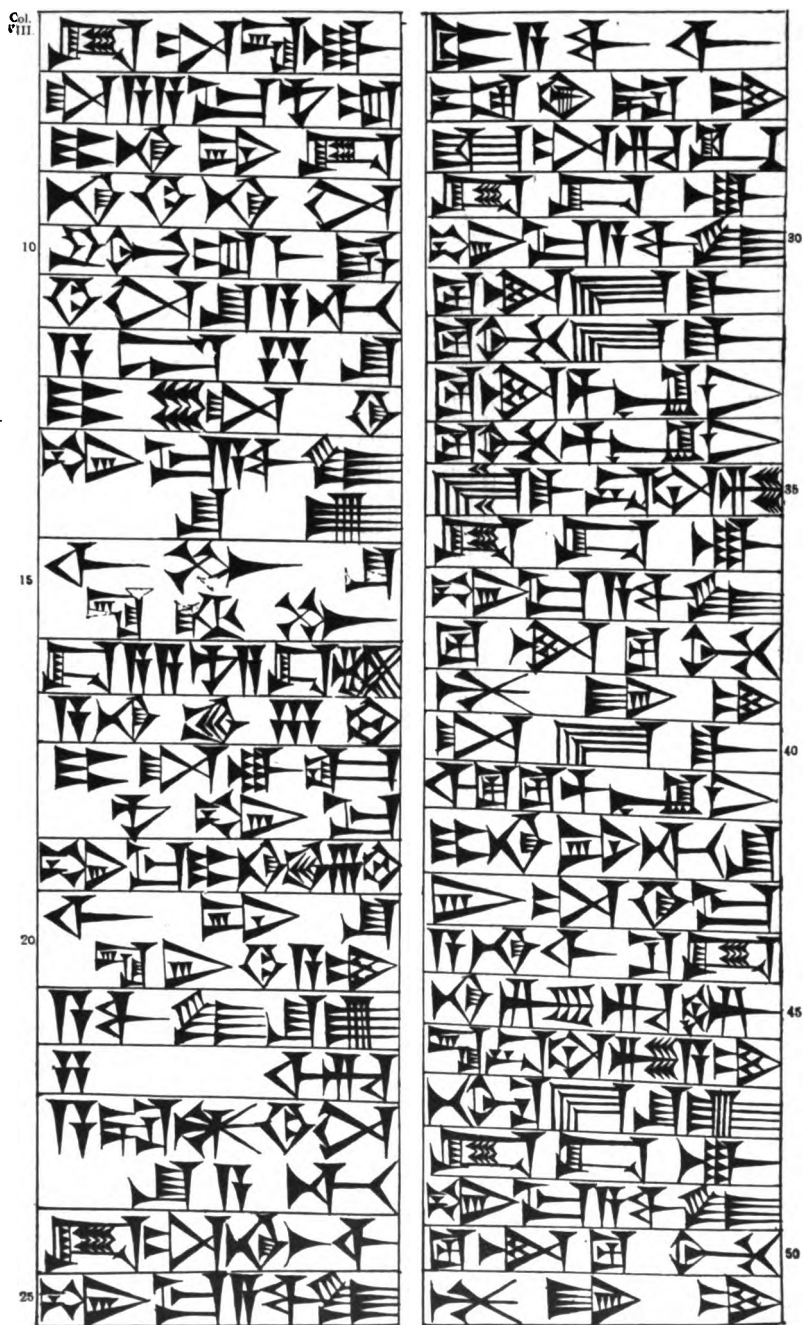
COLUMN VIII.



Col.  
VIII.

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 COLUMN IX.

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Col.  
VIII.

III

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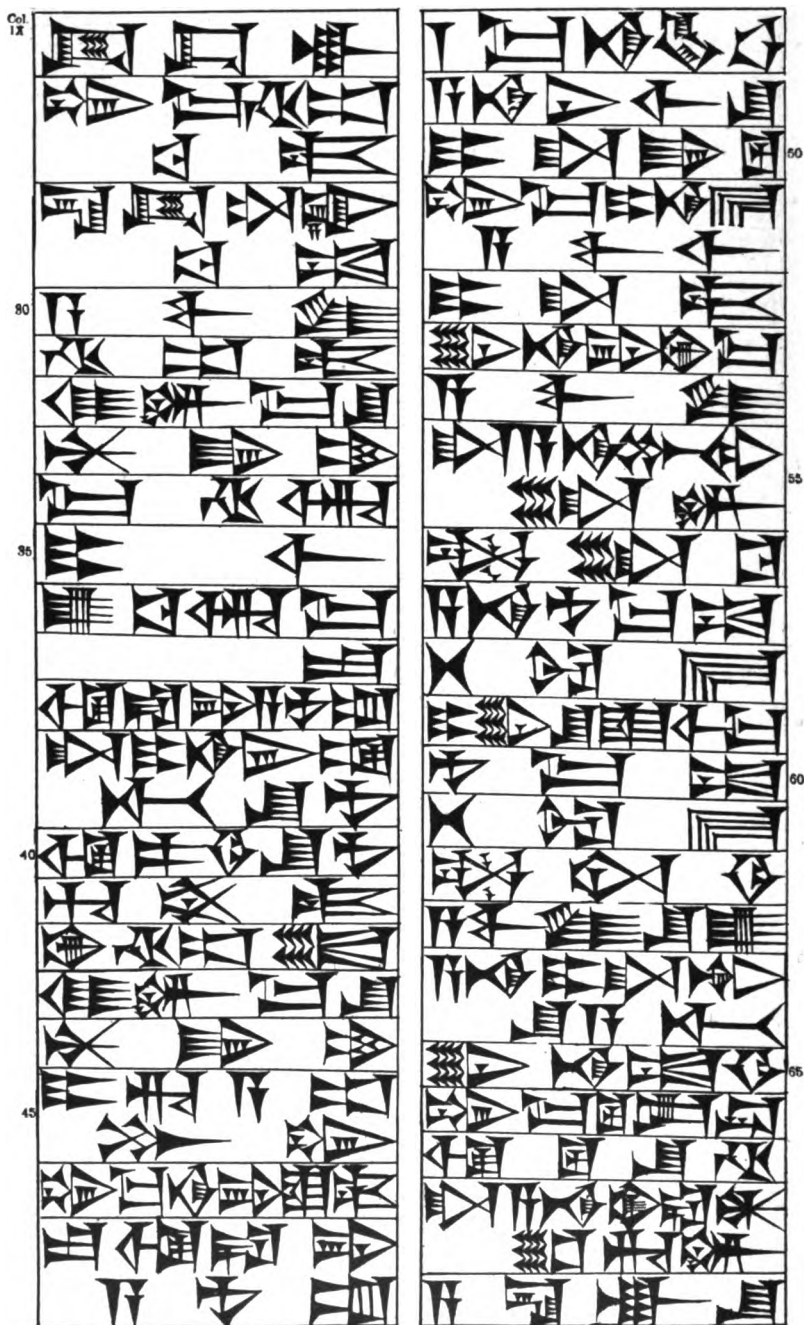
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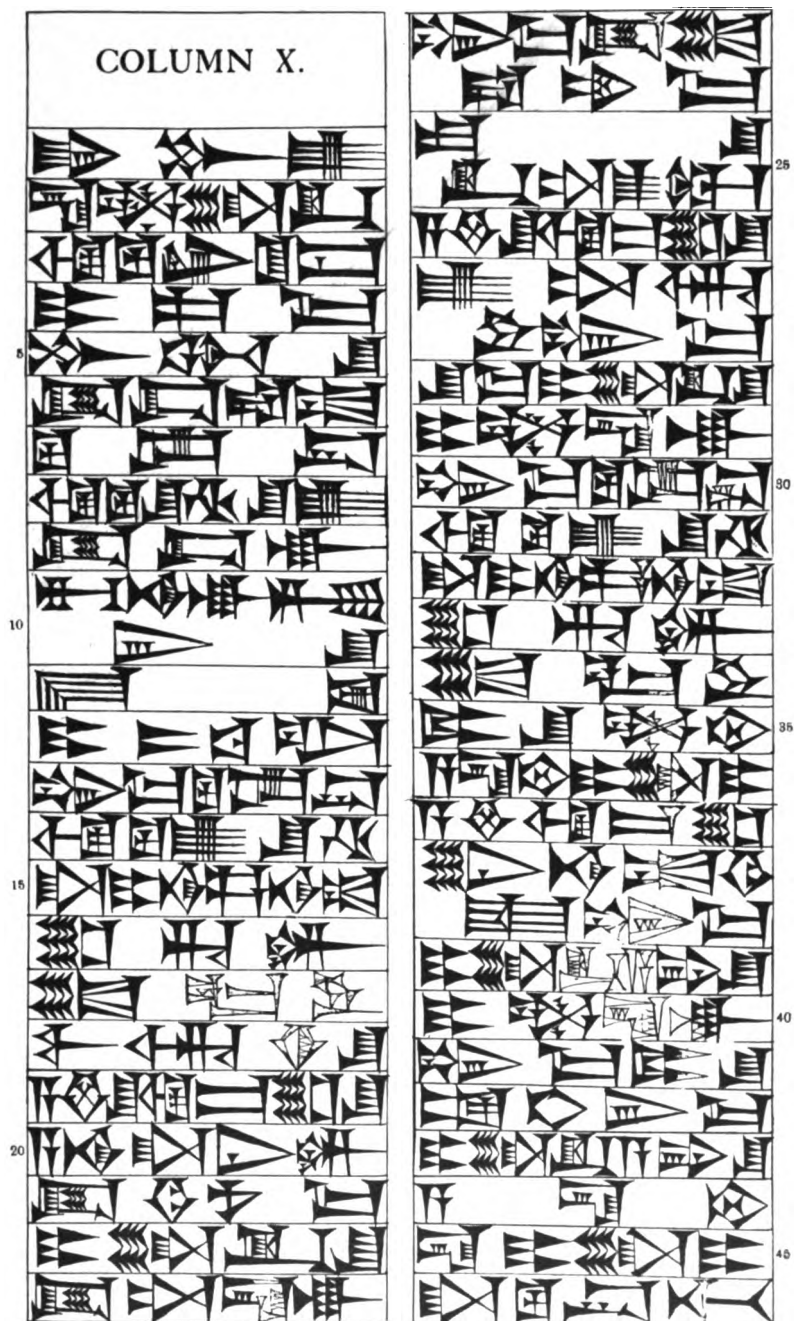
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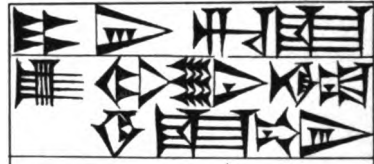
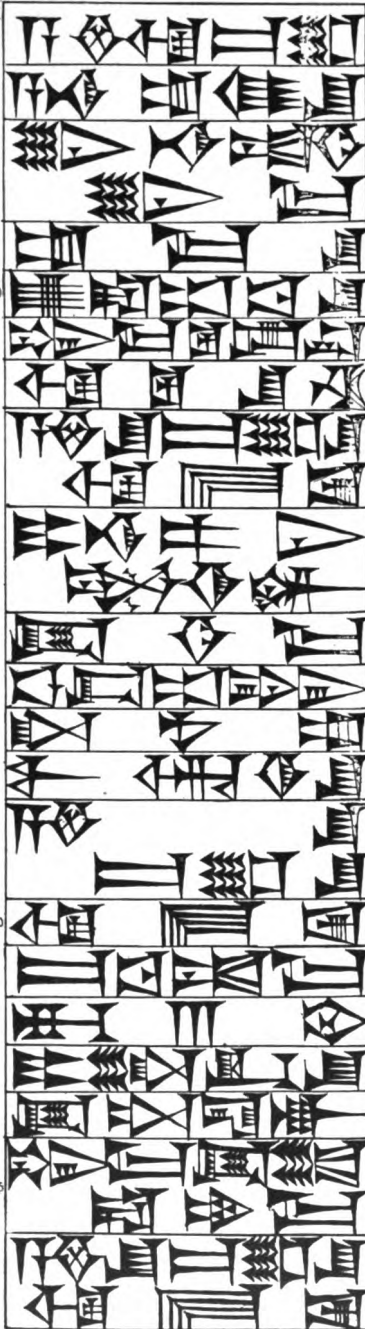
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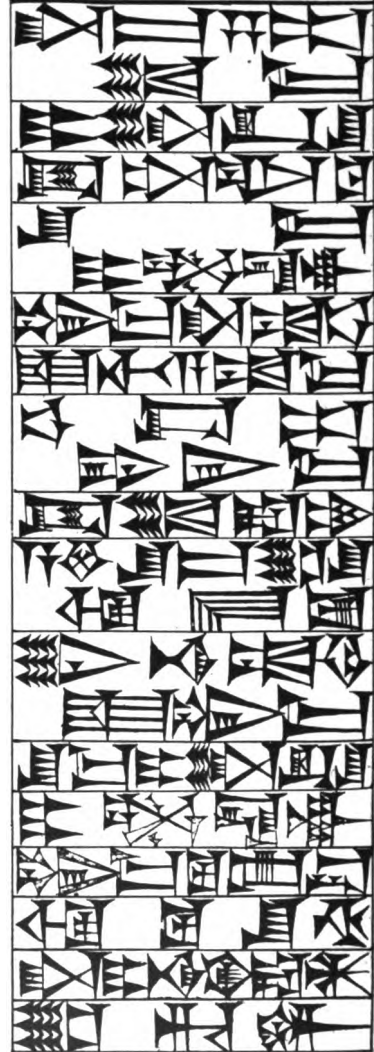






Col.  
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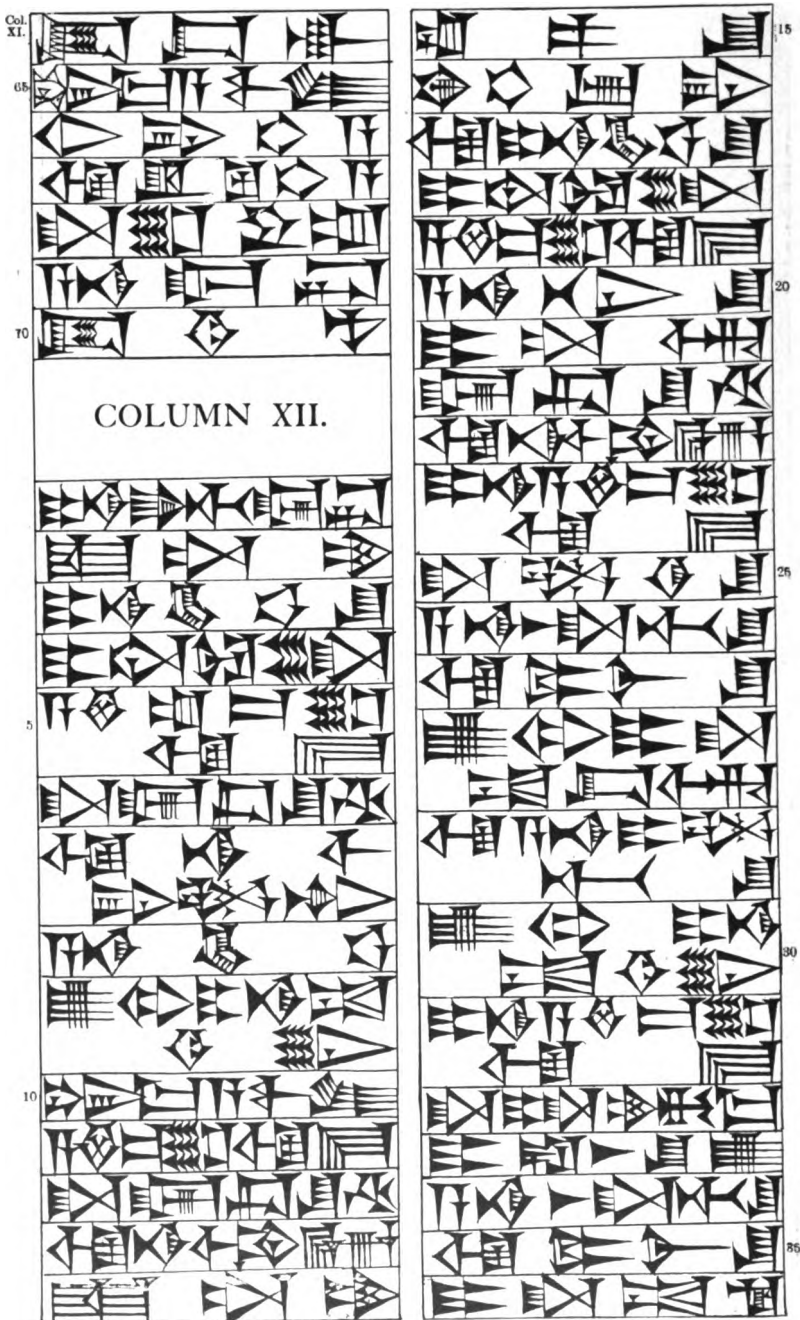
## COLUMN XI.





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Col. XII.

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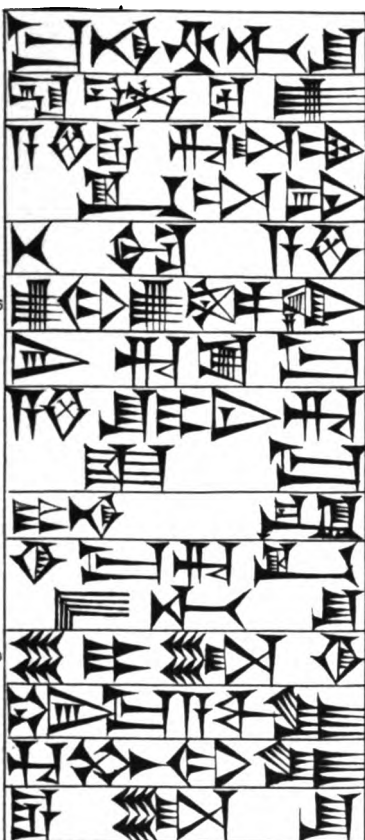
COLUMN XIII.

Col.  
xiii.

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Col.  
XIII



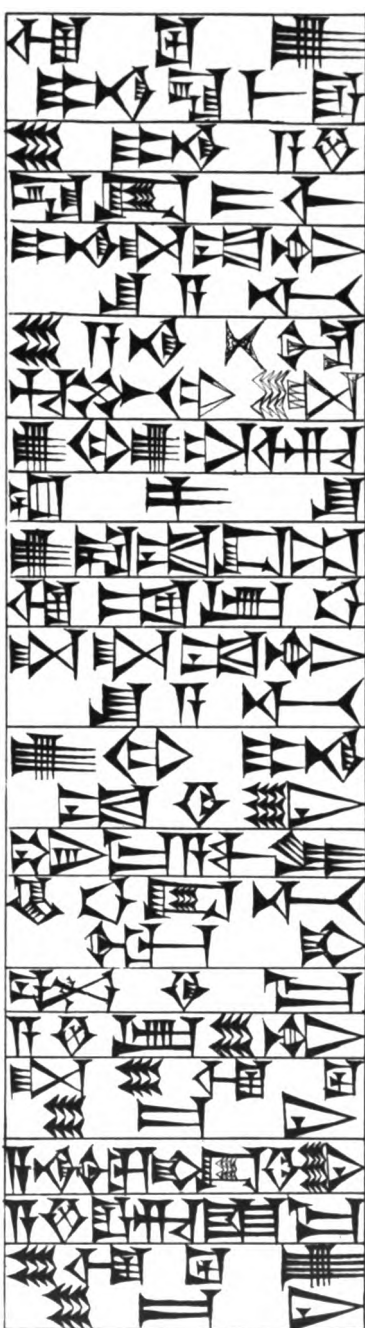
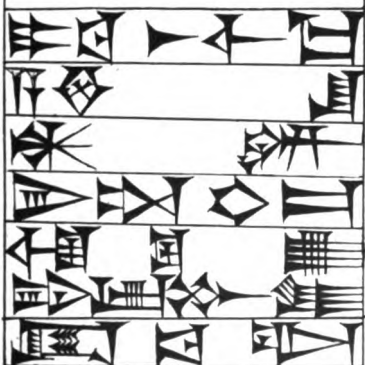
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COLUMN XIV.

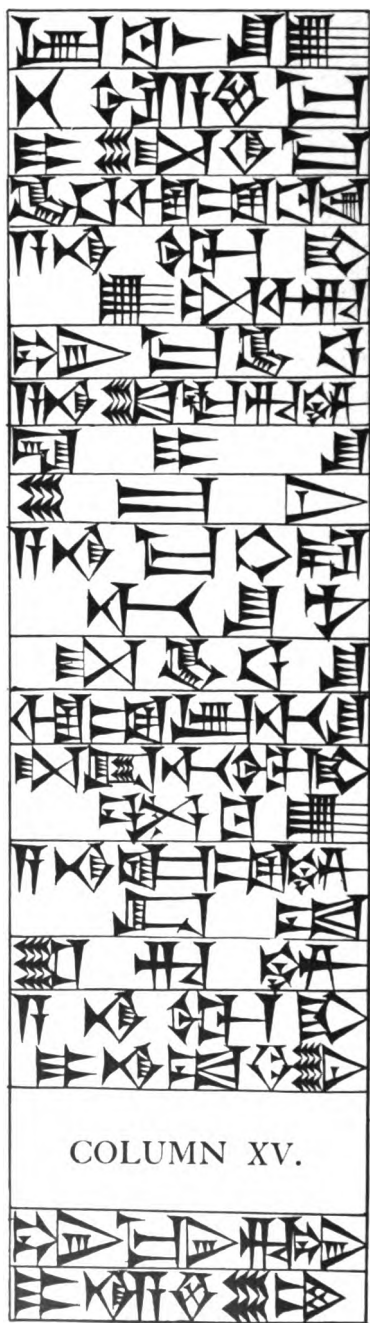
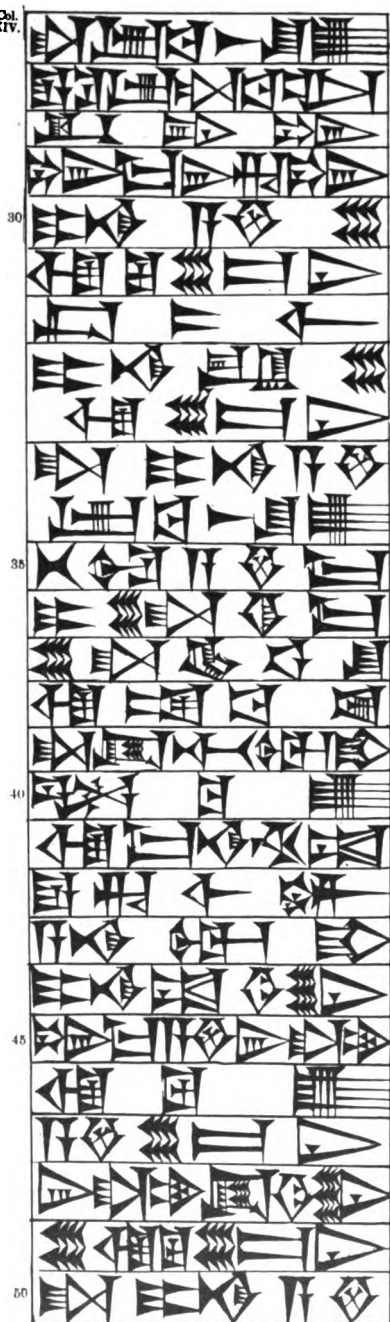


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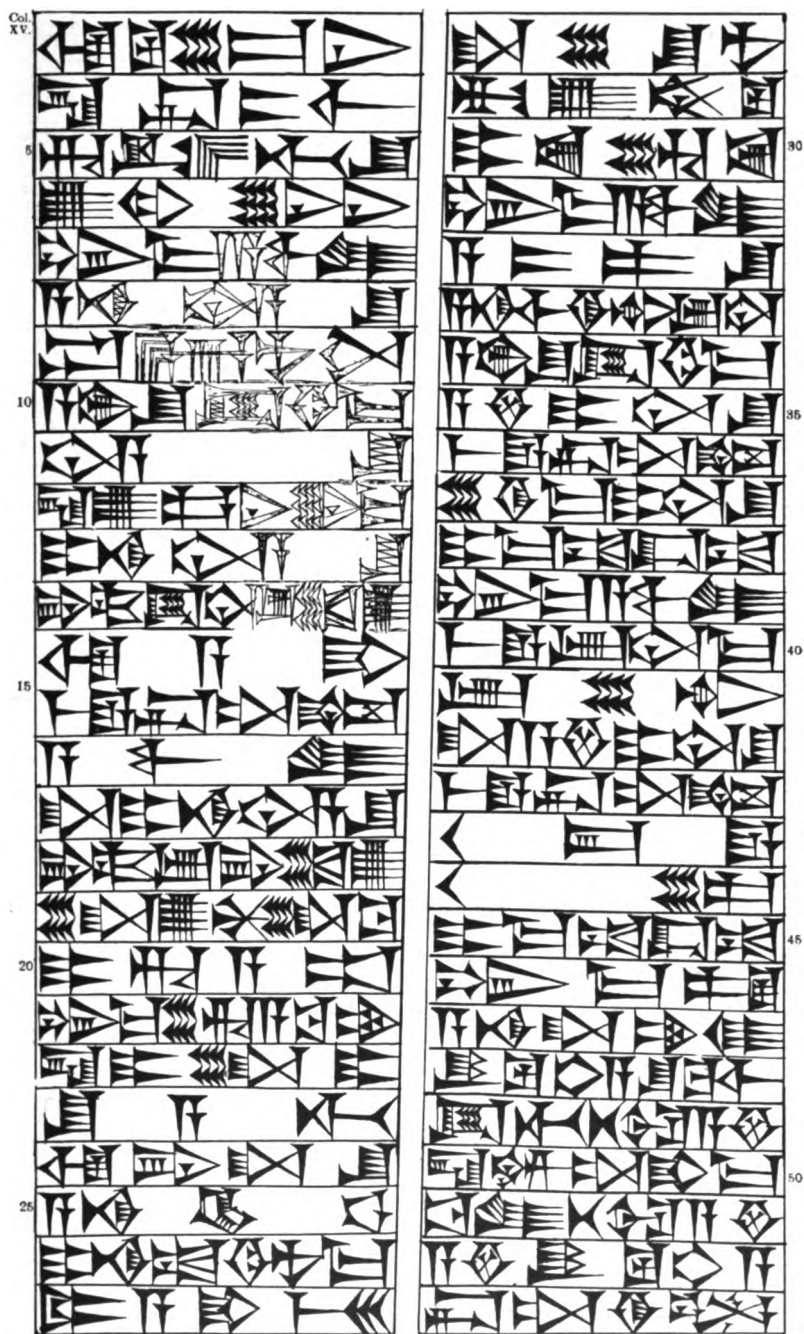
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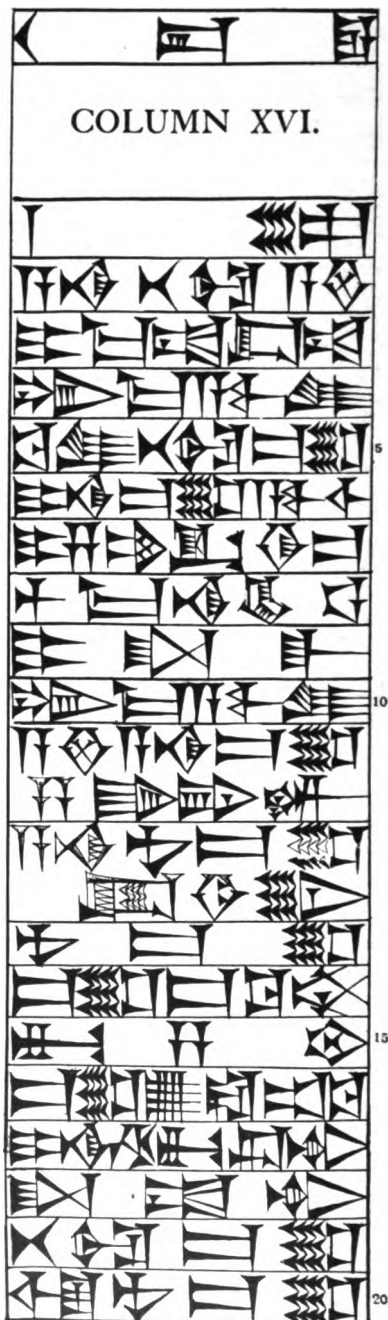
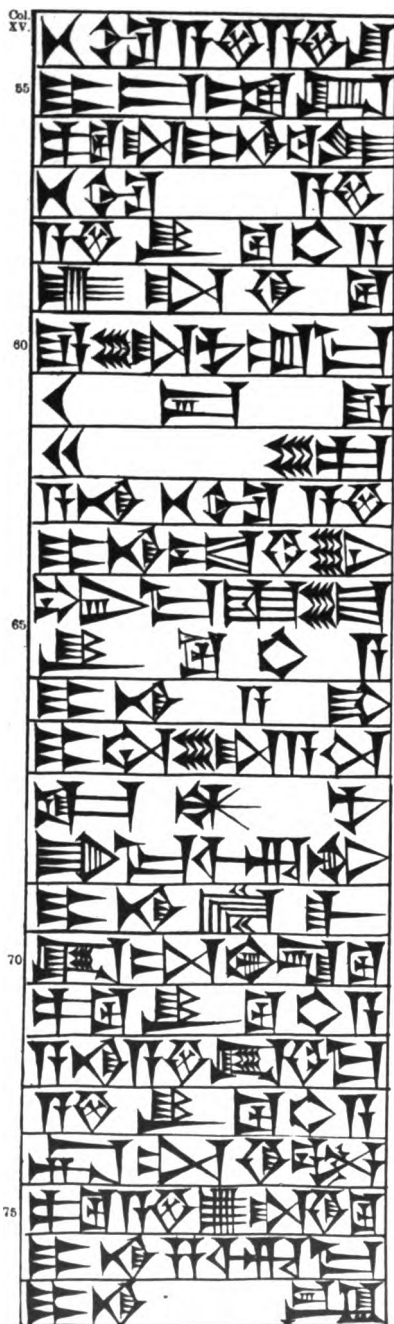
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Col.  
xiv.





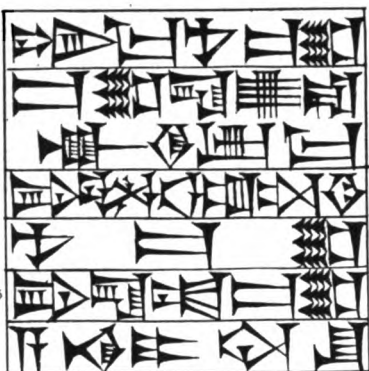




Col.  
xvi.

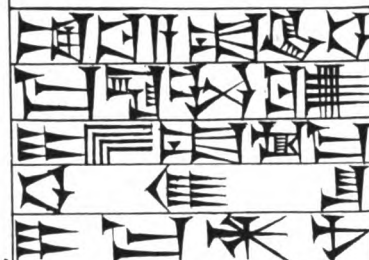
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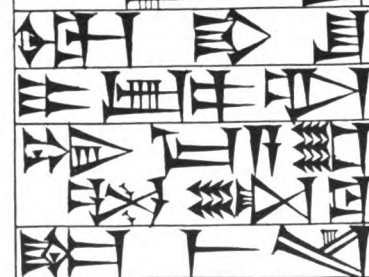
Col.  
xvii.

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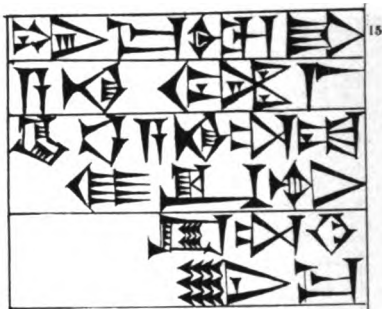
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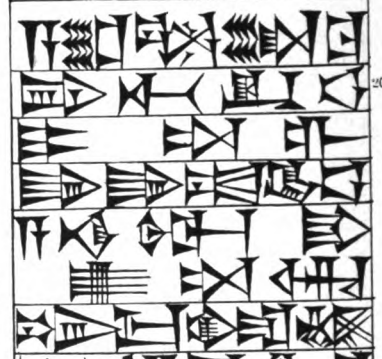
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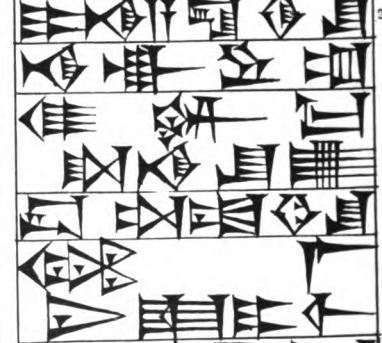
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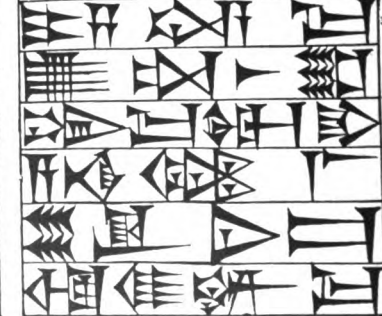
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Col  
XVII.

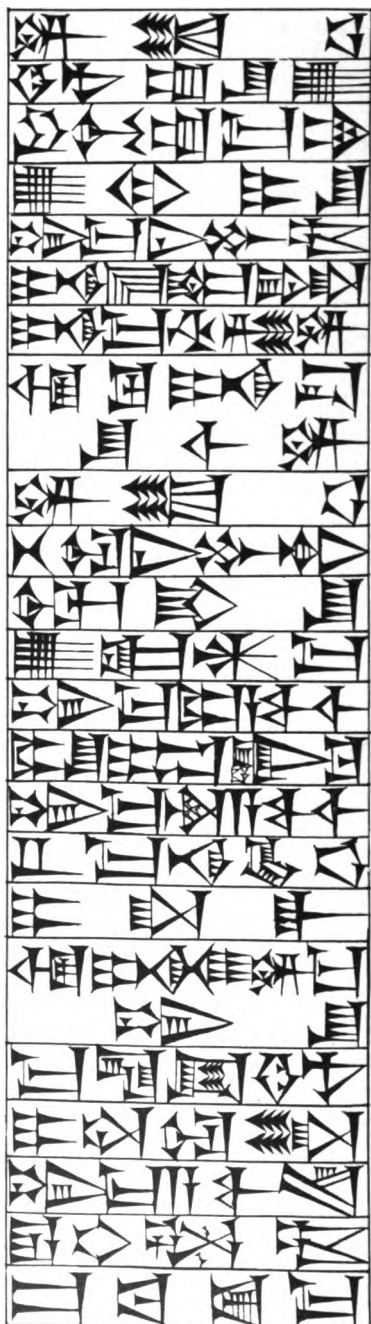
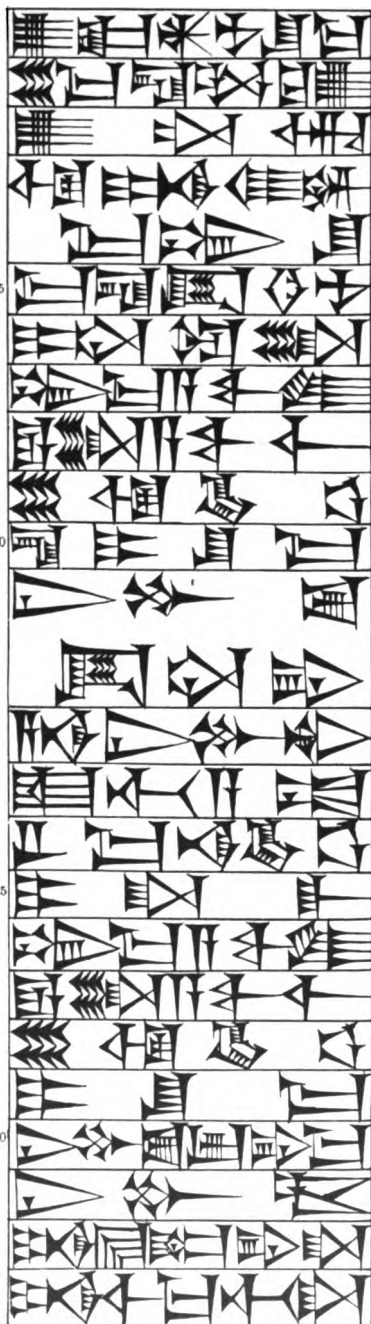
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COLUMN XVIII.





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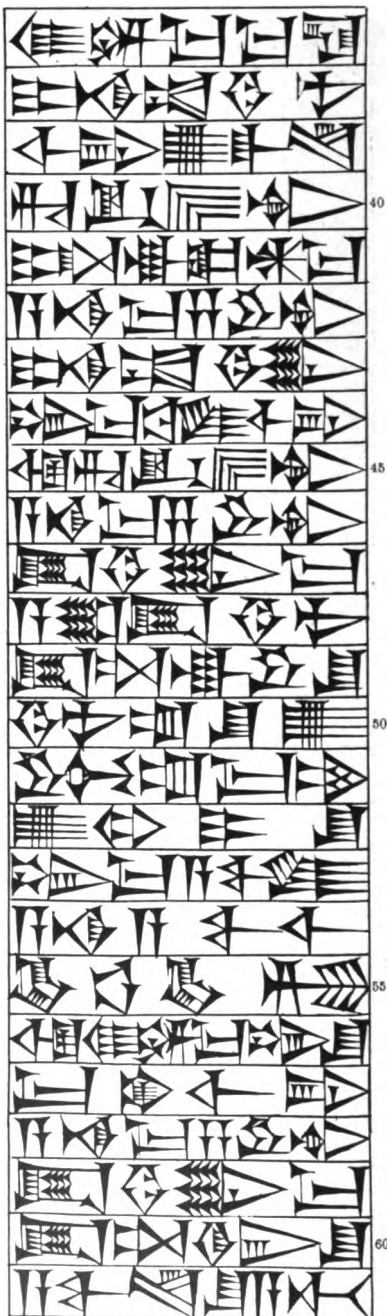
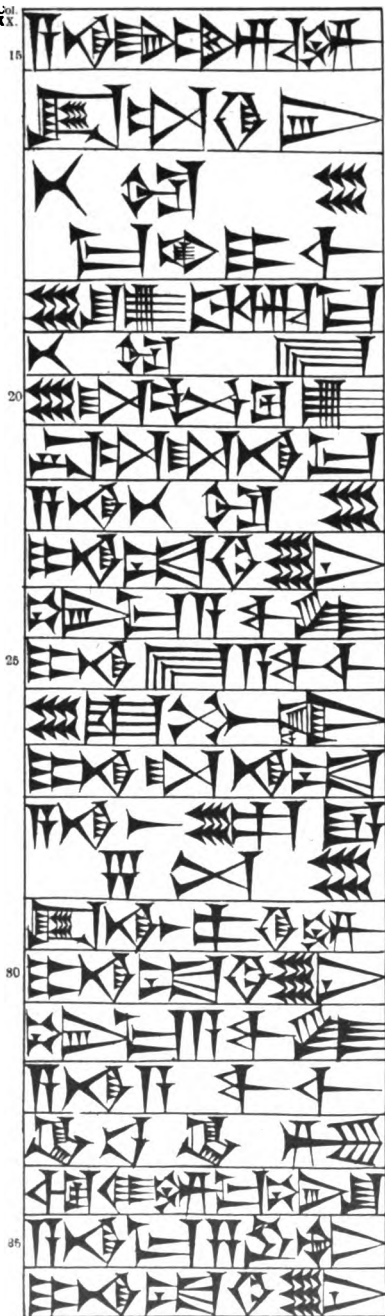
Col.  
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COLUMN XX.

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Col.  
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COLUMN XXI.

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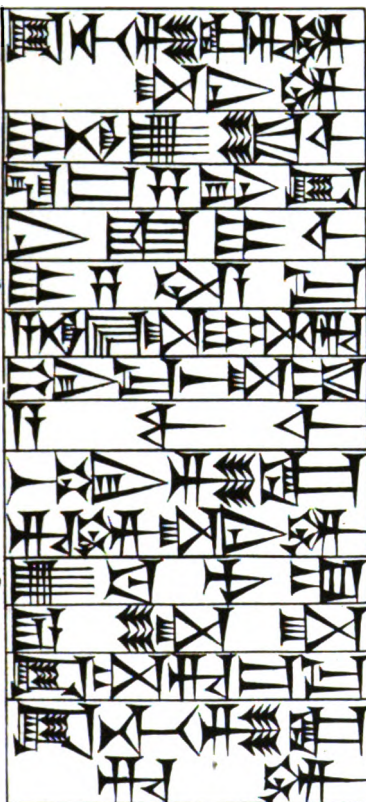
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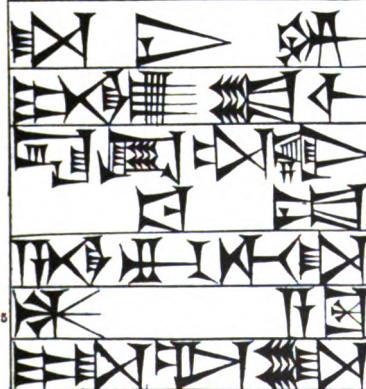
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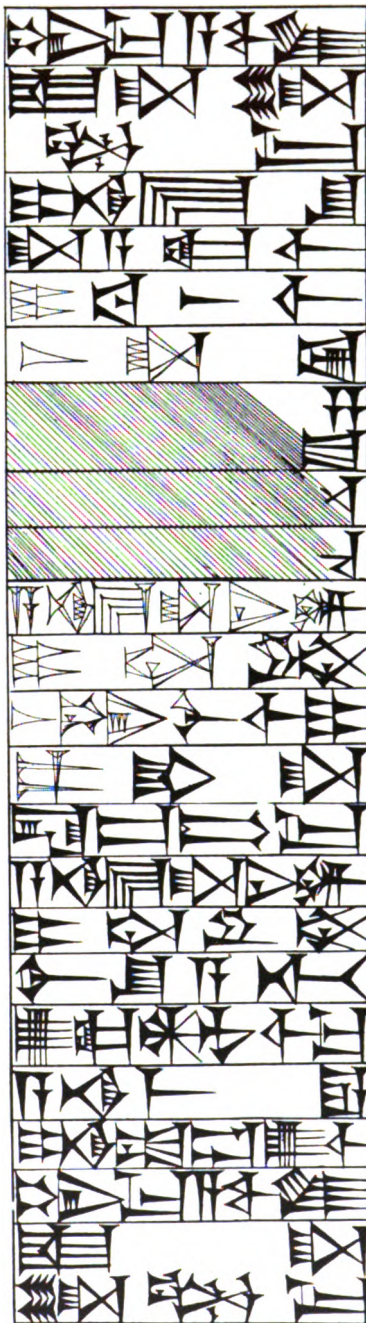
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COLUMN XXII.



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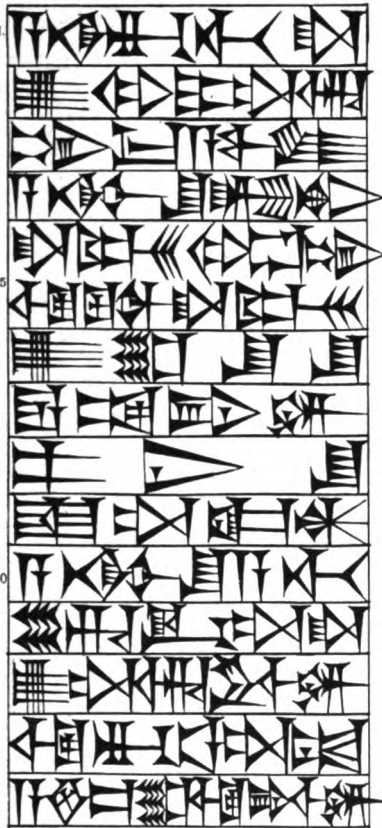
Col.  
xvii

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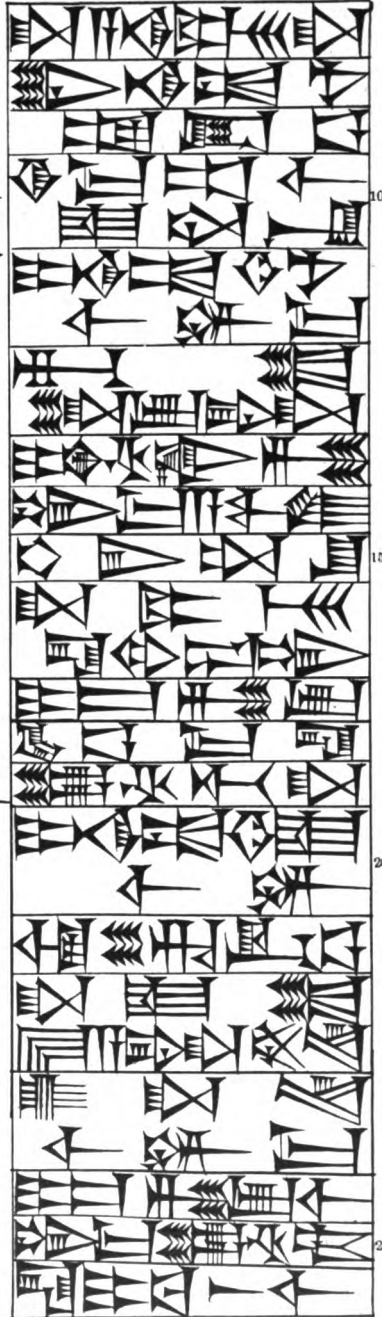
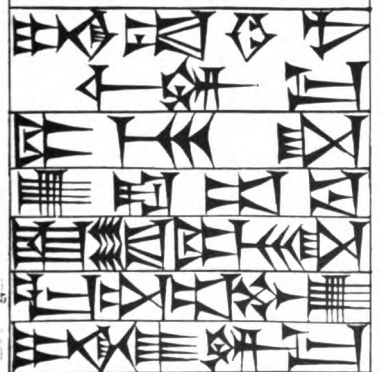
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Col.  
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COLUMN XXIII.

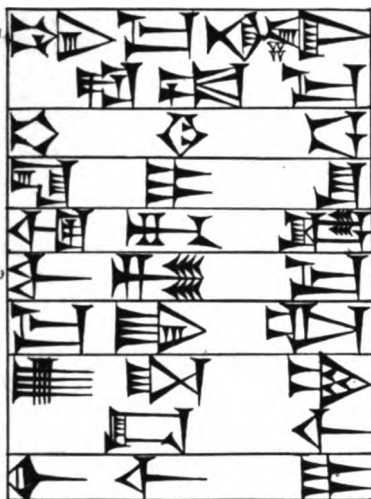


Col.  
XXIII.

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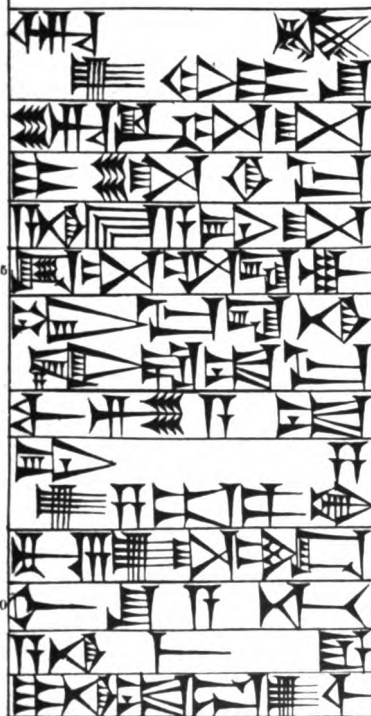
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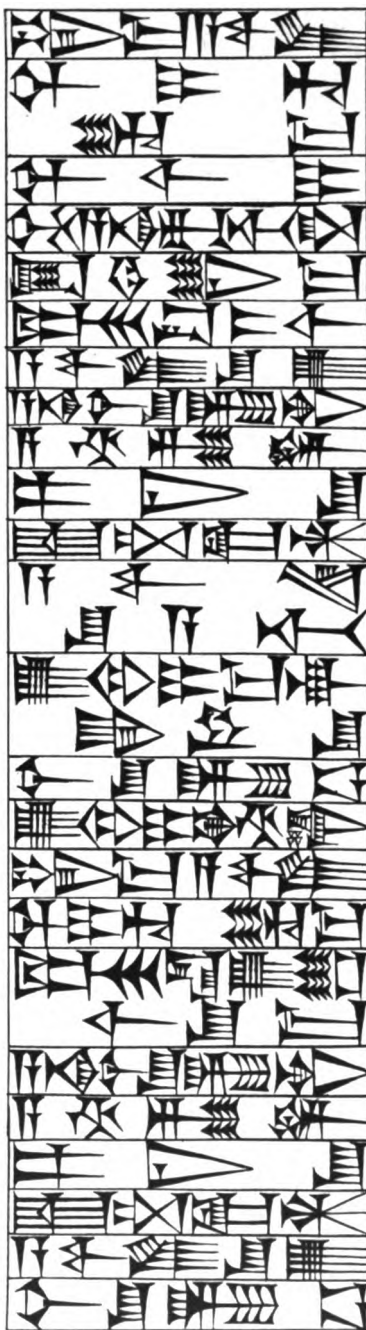
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COLUMN XXIV.



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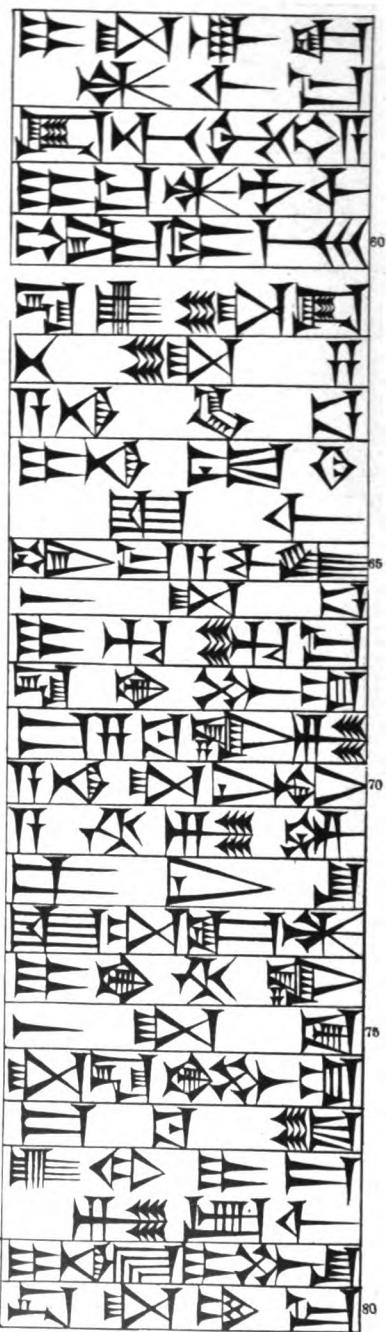
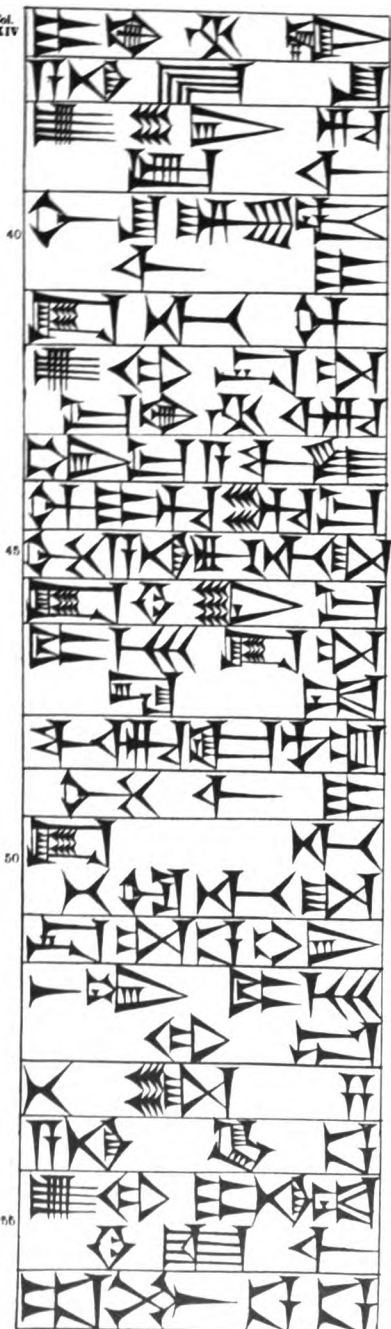
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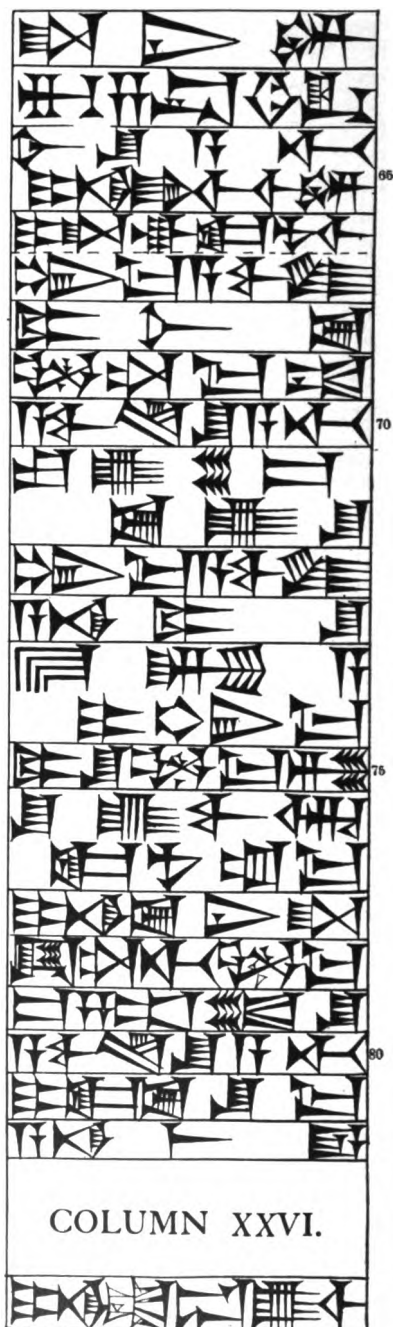
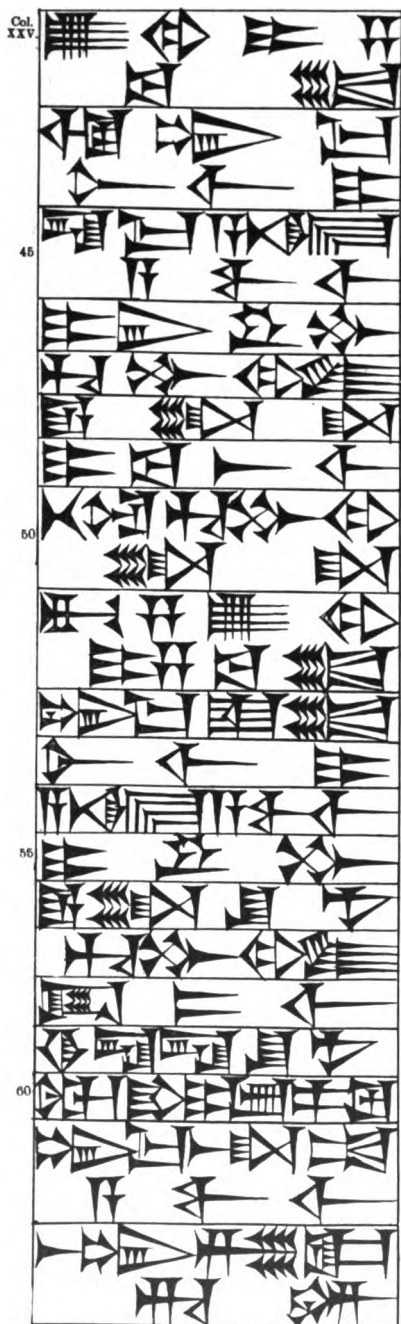
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<p>COLUMN XXV.</p>	



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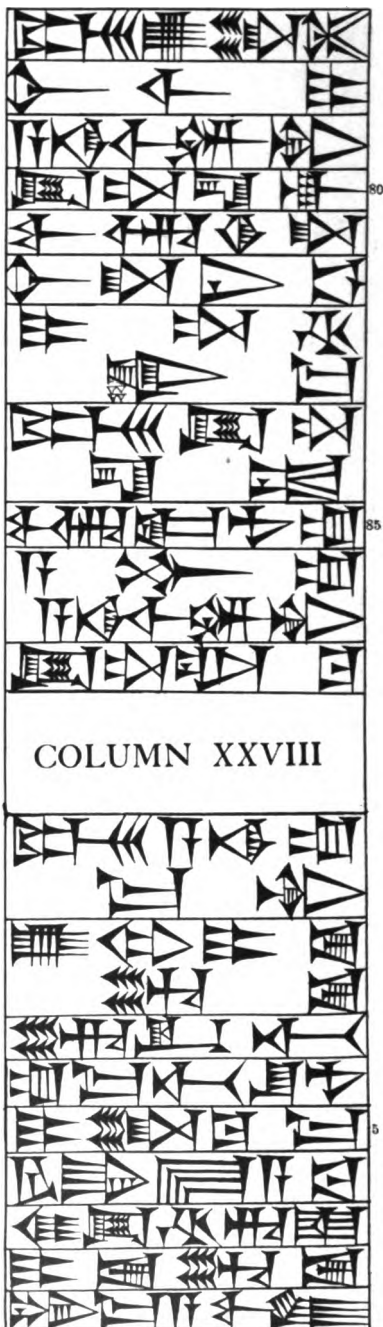
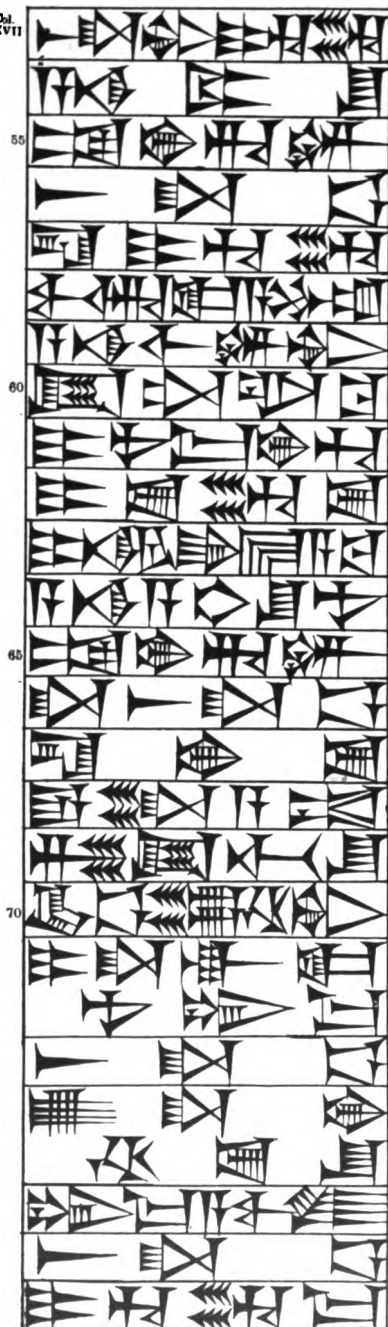
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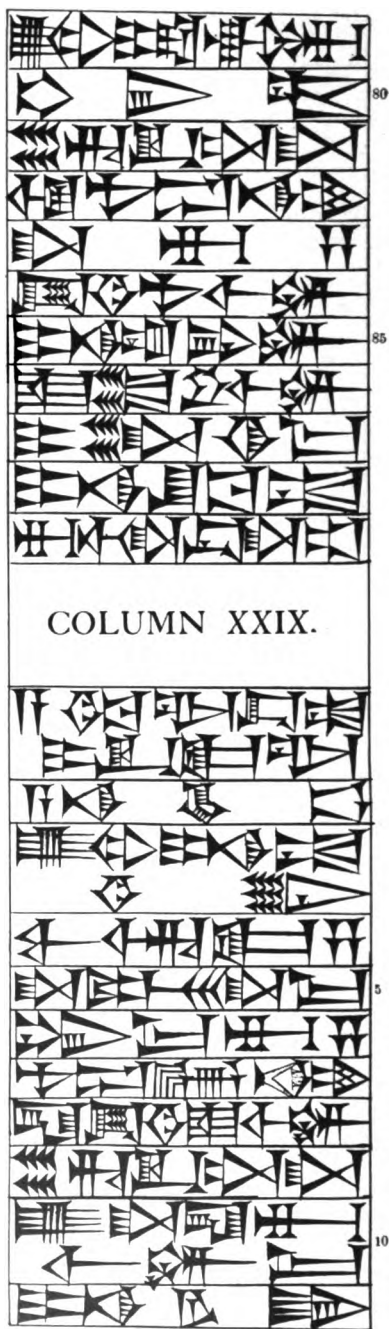
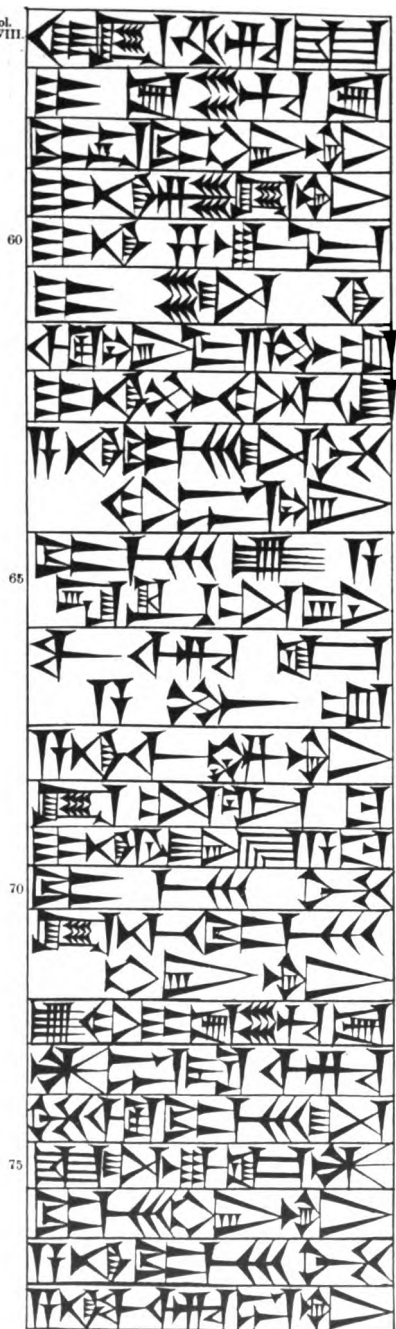
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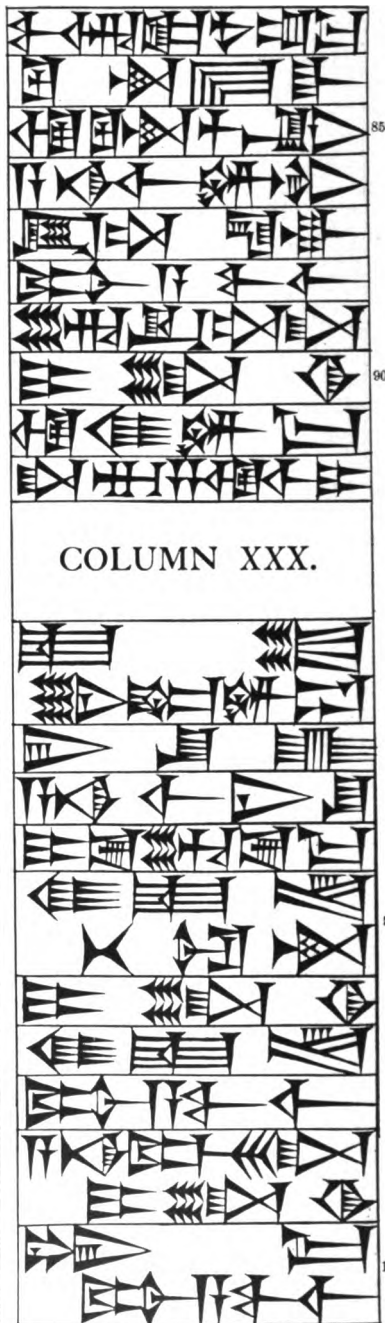
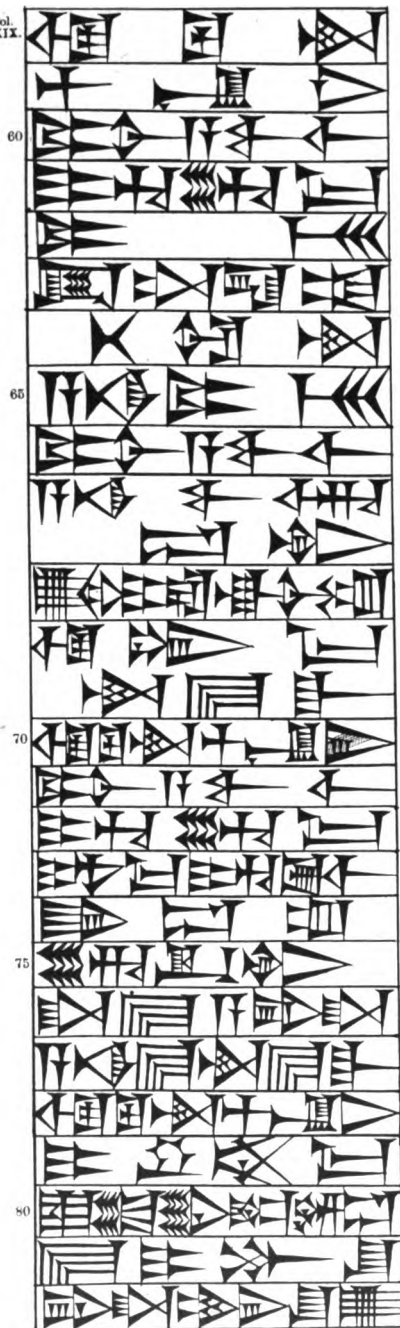
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A vertical strip of 20 panels, each containing a different abstract geometric pattern composed of black and white shapes, including triangles, rectangles, and lines. The patterns are highly stylized and vary significantly from one panel to the next, creating a diverse visual sequence.

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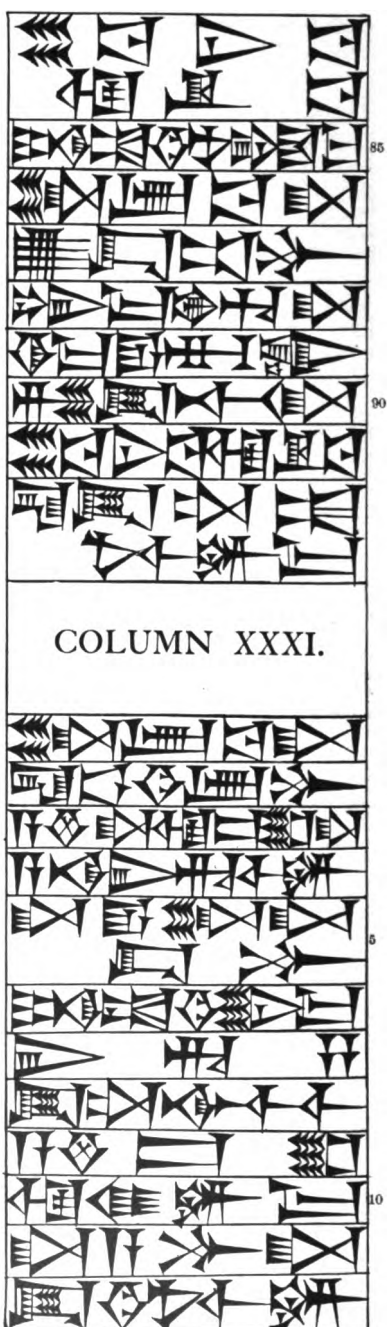
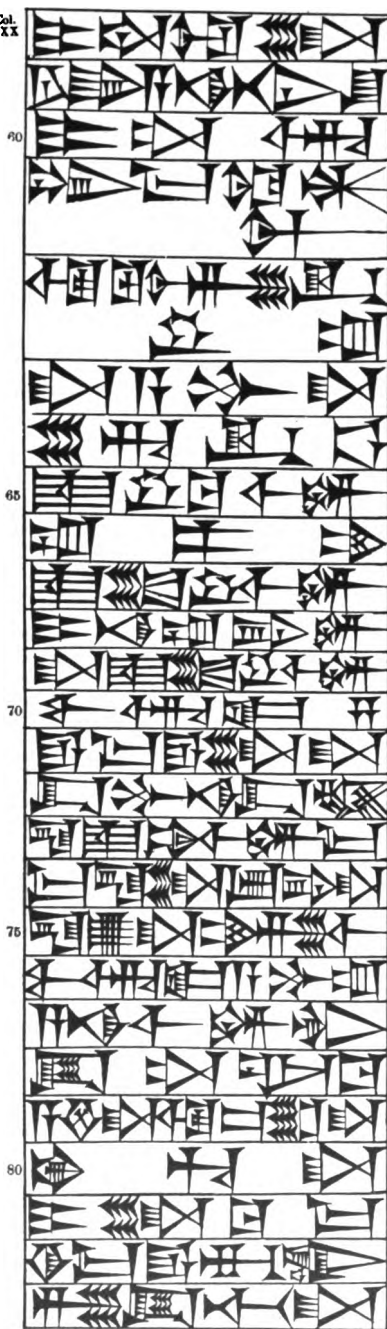
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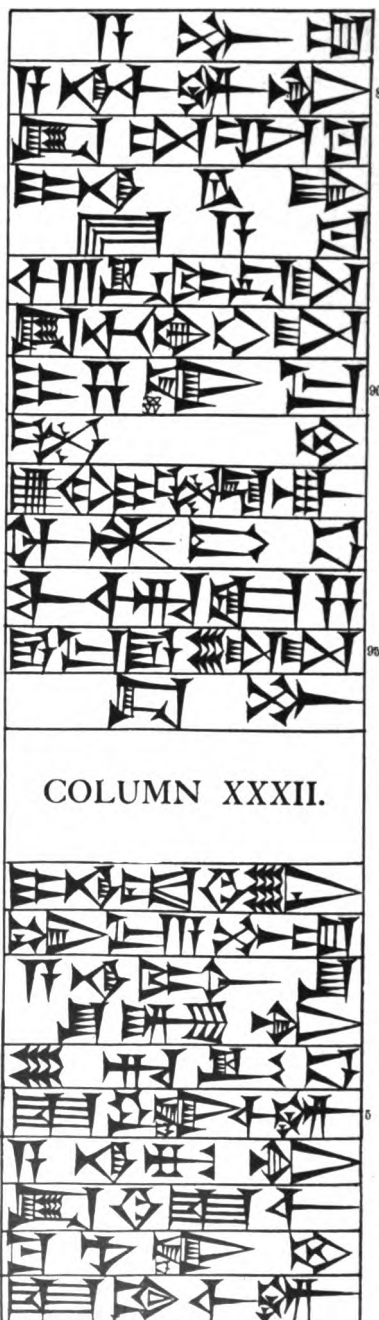
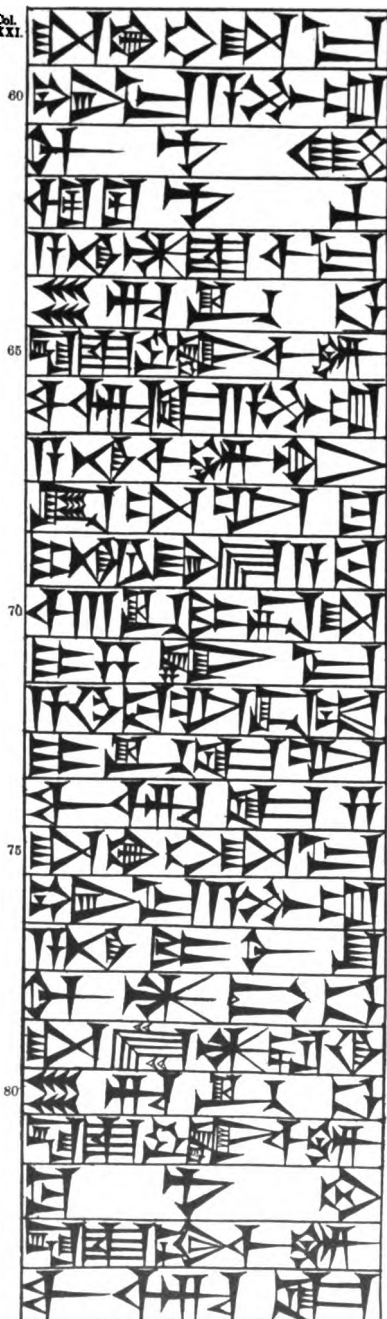
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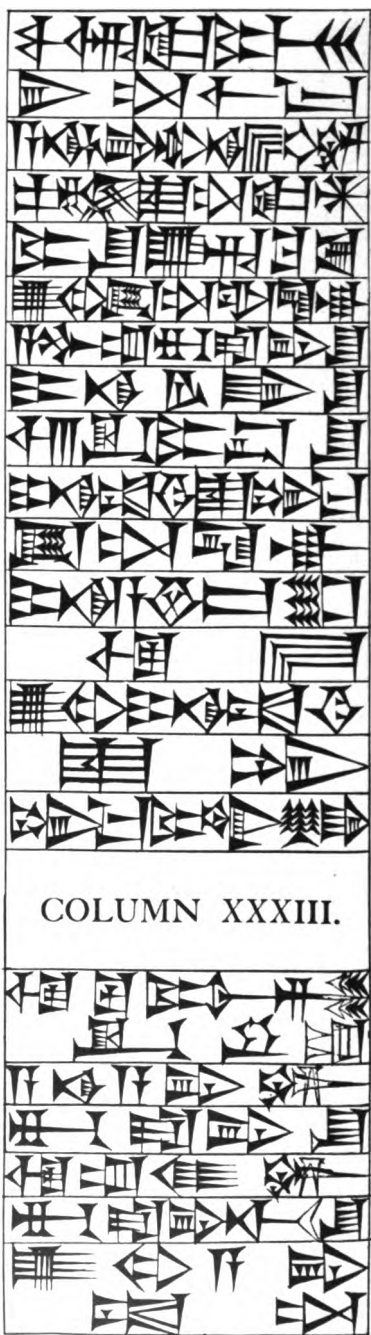
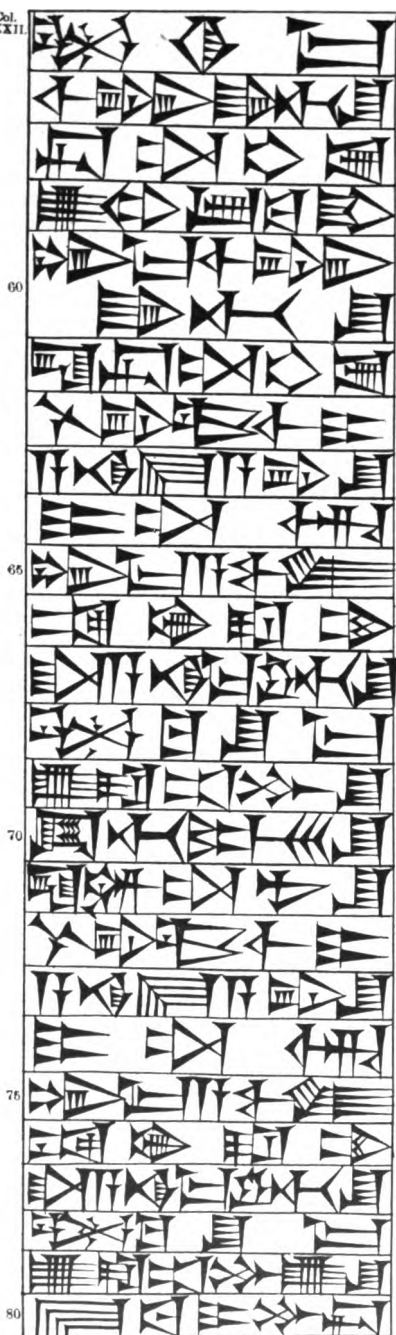


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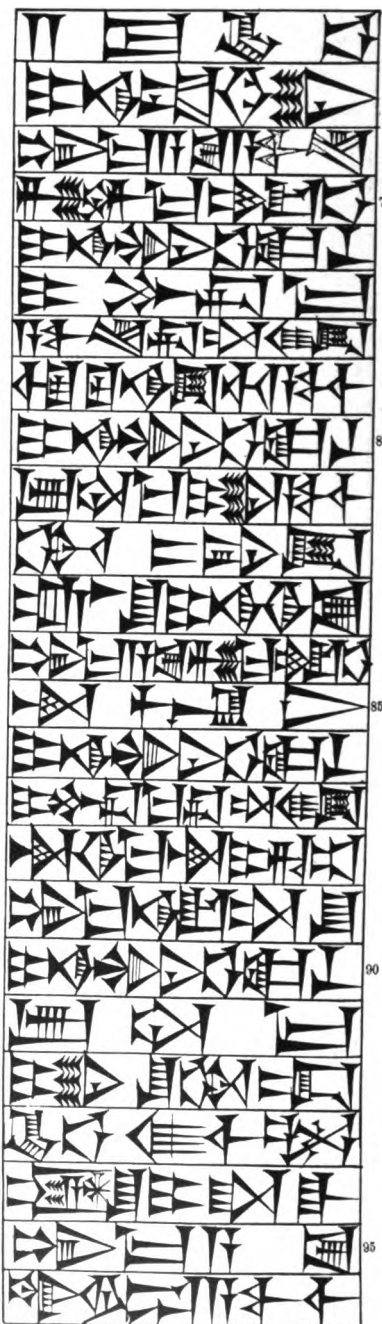
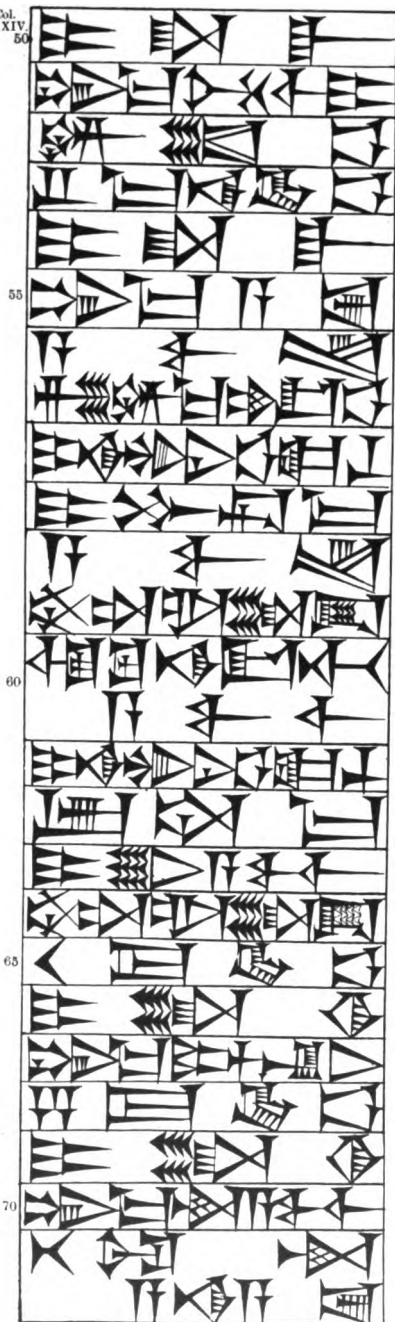
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COLUMN XXXIV.

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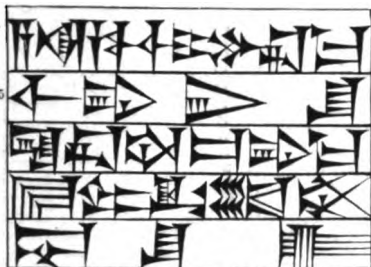


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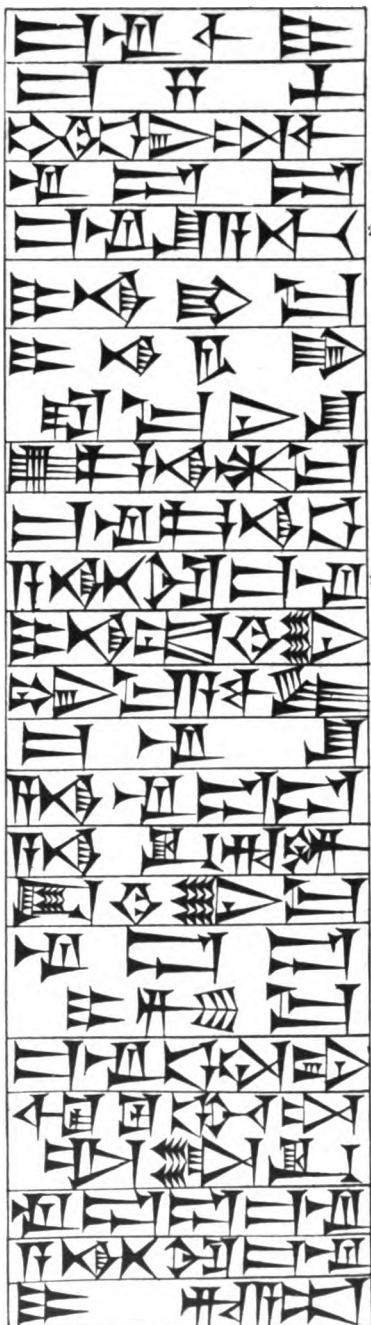
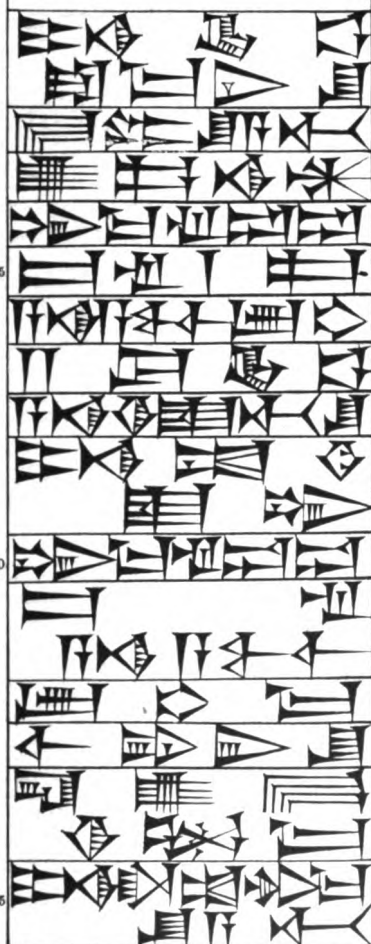
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COLUMN XXXVI.



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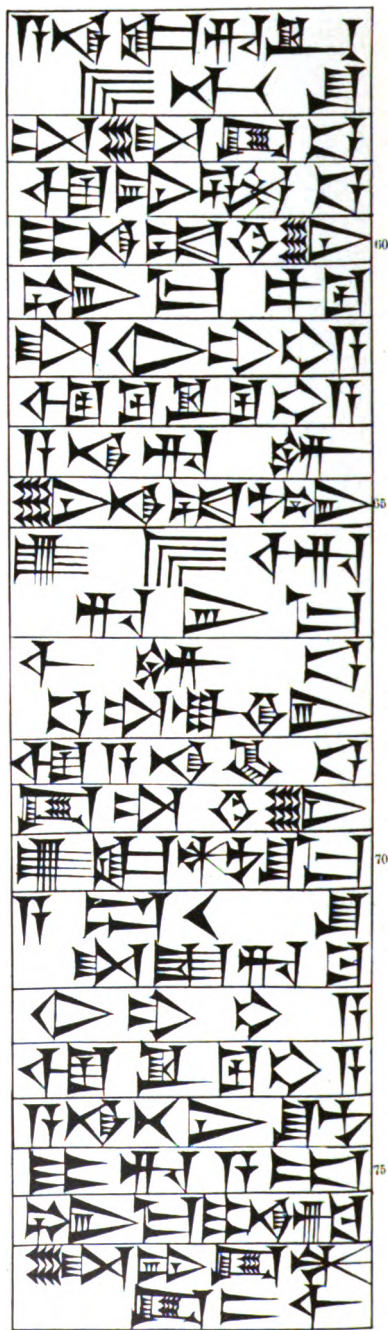
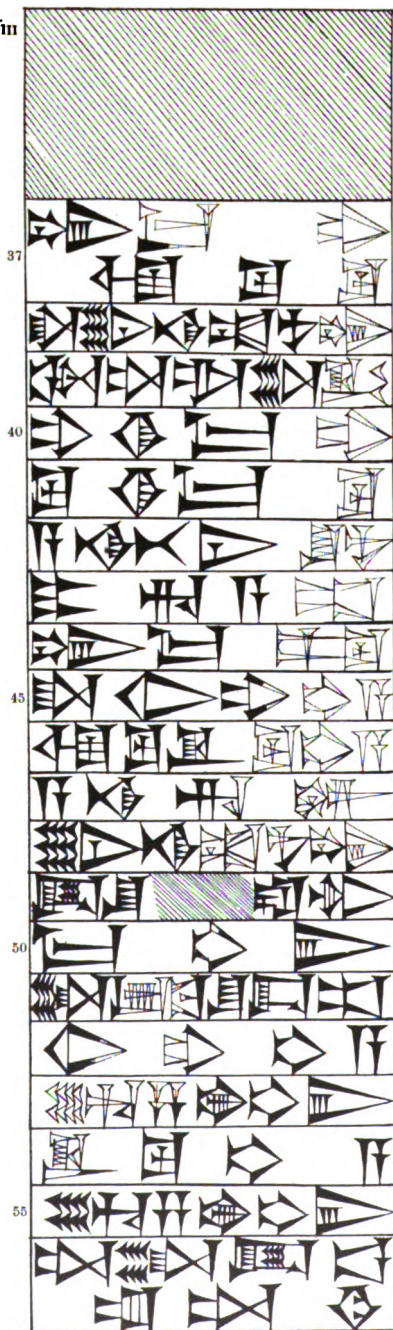
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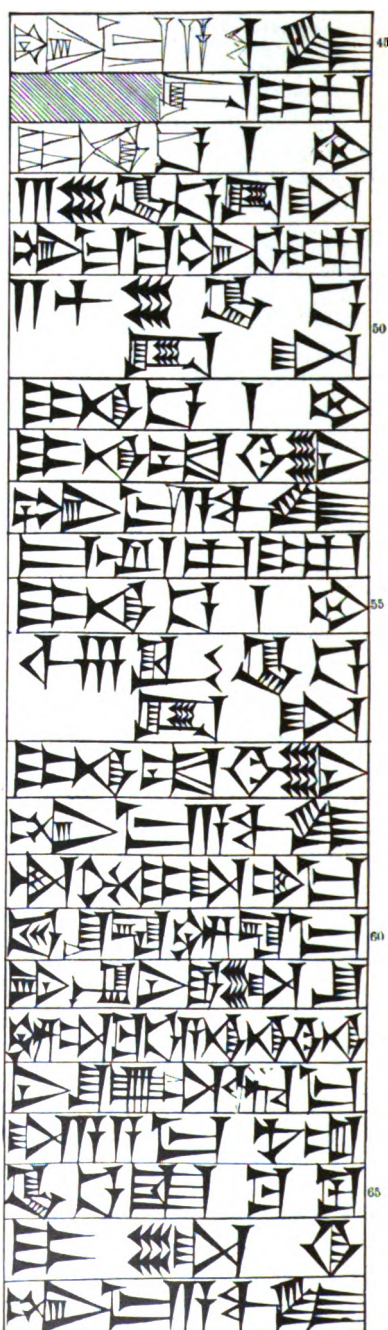
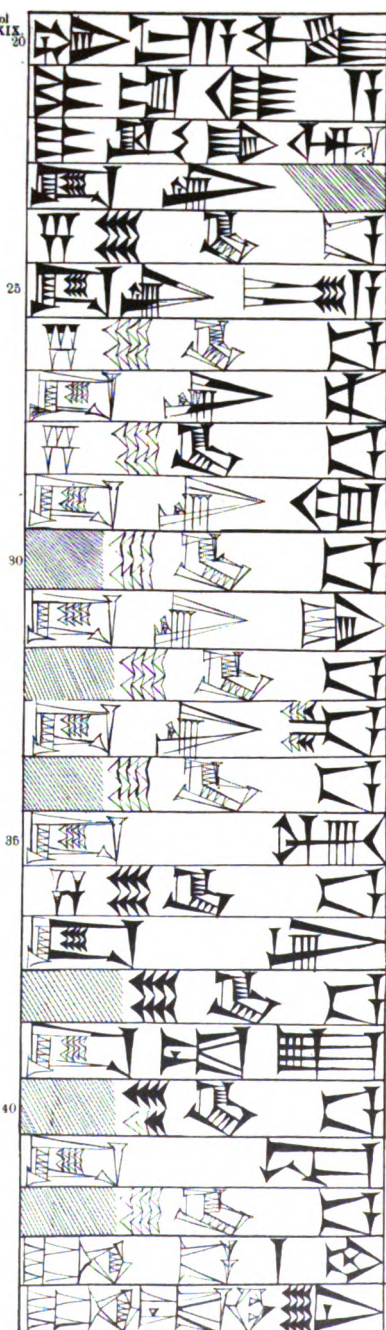
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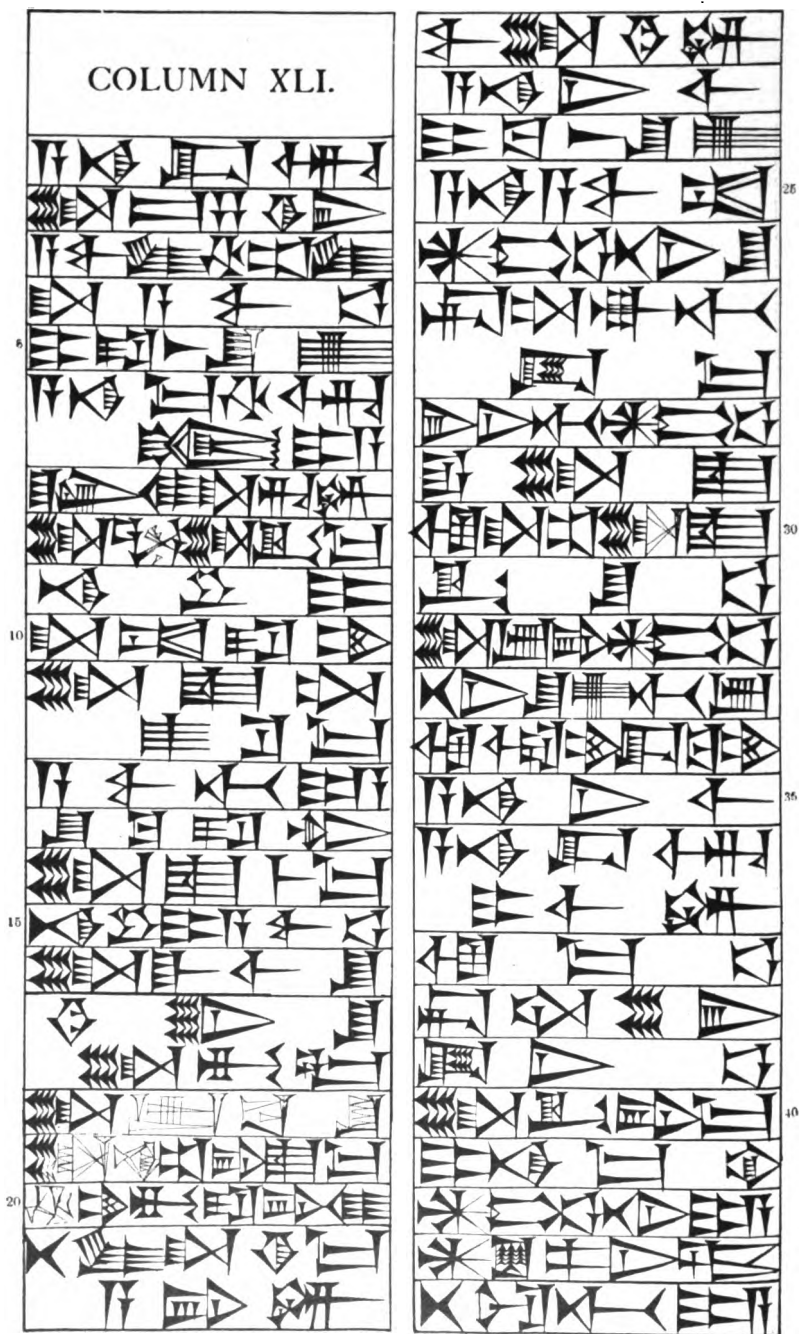
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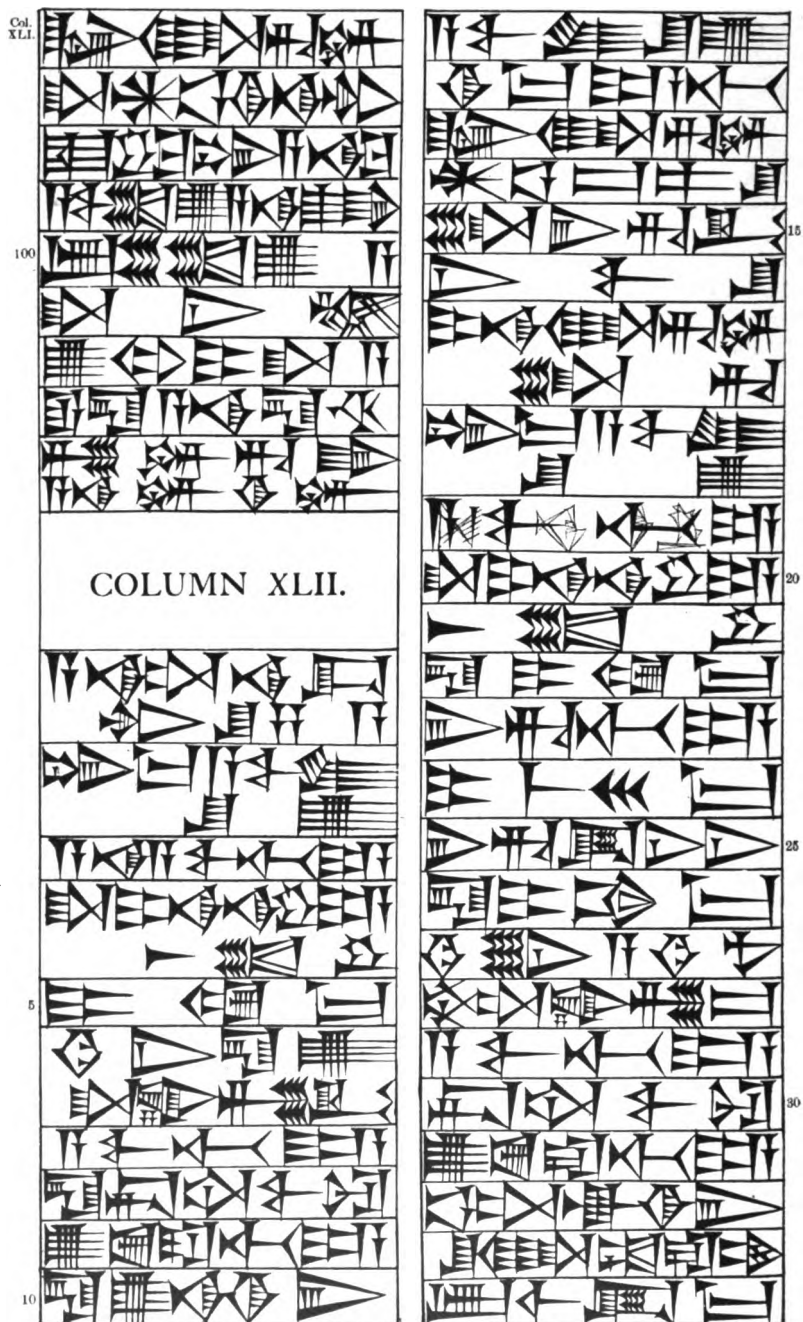
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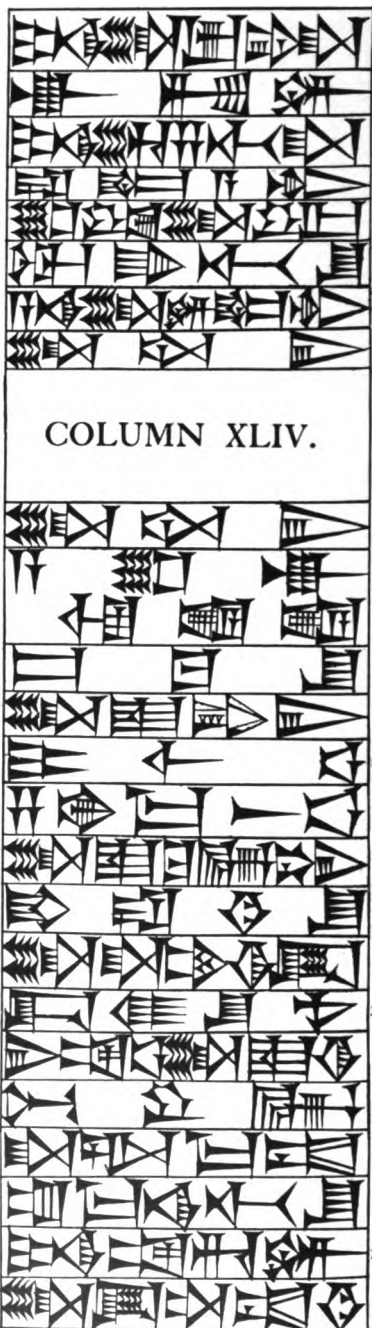
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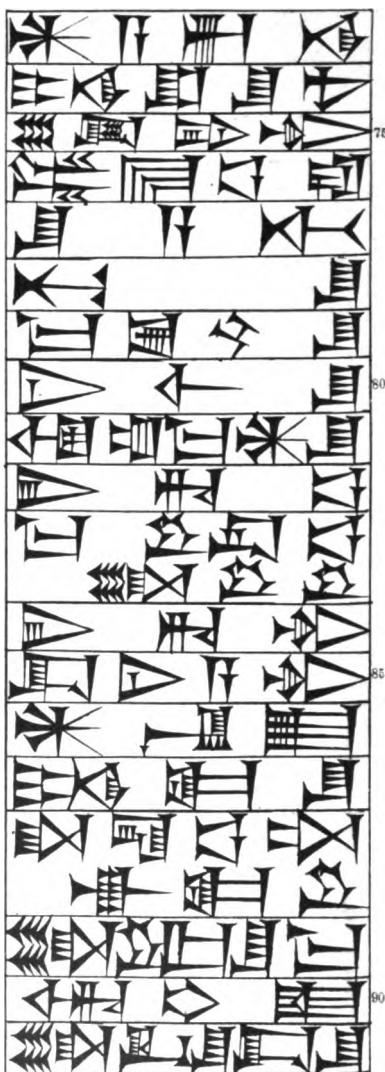
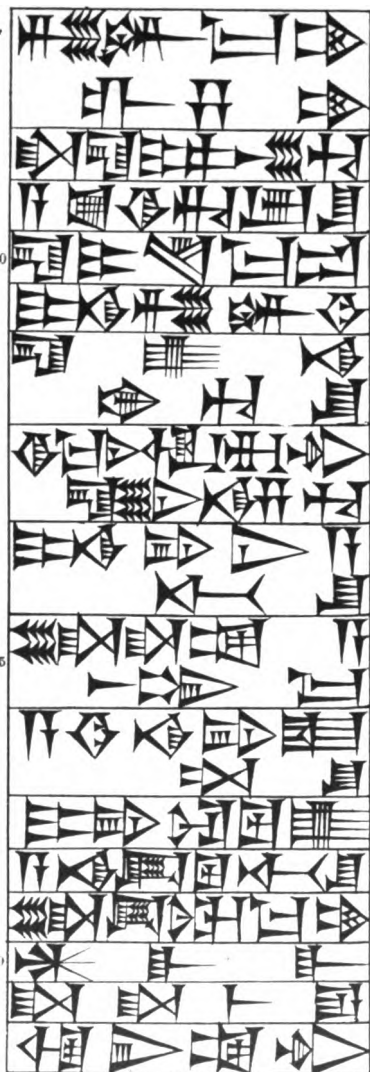
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THE AMERICAN JOURNAL  
OF  
SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

(CONTINUING "HEBRAICA")

VOLUME XX

JANUARY, 1904

NUMBER 2

THE STRUCTURE OF HOSEA 4:1—7:7.<sup>1</sup>

BY WILLIAM RAINEY HARPER,  
The University of Chicago.

5. *Yahweh's Contention with Israel, on Account of Sins Encouraged by the Priests: 4:1—19.*<sup>2</sup>

We have here five strophes of twelve lines each; the measure is trimeter, rarely dimeter.

1) The thought of this section is complete: 'Yahweh has a contention with Israel; for wickedness is seen on every side. In this wickedness the religious guides, the priests, take the lead; and for their failure to perform their duty they shall be rejected, degraded, and put to confusion. Because of their example the people of Israel indulge in idolatry and adultery. May Judah not join in iniquity with Israel, who is committed to vice, and will continue until the enemy utterly confounds and destroys her!

2) The strophic divisions are very clearly marked:

Strophe I (vss. 1, 2, 3) describes the situation;

Strophe II (vss. 4, 14*d*, 5, 6) places the responsibility upon the priests;

Strophe III (vss. 7—10, 12*ab*) describes further the priests' responsibility;

Strophe IV (vss. 11, 12*cd*, 13, 14*abc*) pictures the madness of the people in their sensual indulgence;

<sup>1</sup> Here begins the fifth distinct section in Hosea. For a similar treatment of sections 1—4 see *AJSL.*, Vol. XVII, October, 1900.

<sup>2</sup> I have employed the same phraseology here and in other headings as will appear in my forthcoming volume on *Amos and Hosea* in the *International Critical Commentary*.



Strophe V (vss. 15–19) depicts Israel's sins and her consequent destruction.

3) The following modifications of the text are suggested:<sup>3</sup>

(a) The transposition of vs. 12ab to precede vs. 11, thus leaving a better connection with vs. 10; and, as well, a better connection with vs. 12cd; a much better arrangement for the circumstantial clause in vs. 12a; and no good ground, such as existed before, for regarding vs. 11 as an interpolation,<sup>4</sup> notwithstanding its proverbial form and content.

(b) The transposition of vs. 14d to precede בָּרֶךְ, the last word in vs. 4. These words (וְעַם לֹא־יִבְיֶיךָ יִלְבָּט) (1) are evidently out of place where they are, the context contrasting הֵם (the priests) with the young women of the nation; (2) complete the symmetry of Strophe II, but destroy that of Strophe IV, in which they stand in אִשׁ; (3) fit in perfectly with the last clause of vs. 4 as amended, adding still another circumstantial detail of the picture — *Yea, a people*, etc.; (4) on this supposition need no longer be regarded as a gloss.<sup>5</sup>

I

שָׁמַע דְּבַר יְהוָה (4:1)  
 בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל  
 כִּי רִיב לַיהוָה  
 עִם יֹשְׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ  
 כִּי אִין־אִמַּת וְאִין־חֶסֶד  
 וְאִין־דַּעַת אֱלֹהִים בָּאָרֶץ:  
 (2) אֵלֶּה וְכַחַשׁ וְרִצָּח וְגִנֵּב וְנָאֵף  
 פָּרְצוּ וְדַמִּים בְּדַמִּים נָגְעוּ:  
 (3) עַל־כֵּן תֵּאָבֵל הָאָרֶץ  
 וְאִמְלֹל כָּל יוֹשֵׁב בָּהּ  
 בַּחֲתִית הַשְׂדֵּה וּבְעֶקֶר הַשְּׂמִימִים  
 וְגַם־דָּגֵי הַיָּם יֵאָסְפוּ:

II

(4) אִךְ אִישׁ אֶל־יָרִיב  
 וְאֵל יוֹכָח אִישׁ  
 וְעַמִּי כְכַמְרִיו;<sup>7</sup>  
 (14d) וְעַם לֹא־יִבְיֶיךָ יִלְבָּט:

<sup>3</sup> As presented in *Amos and Hosea* (see above).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ruben and Nowack.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Ruben and Nowack.

<sup>6</sup> For רַעַם of אִשׁ; so G, Beck, Böckel, Wellhausen, Bachmann, Ruben, G. A. Smith, Nowack, Oettli, et al.

<sup>7</sup> For כְּמַרְיָר of אִשׁ; so Beck, Böckel, Mosapp (*ZA W.*, Vol. V, p. 185), G. A. Smith, Oettli.

(5) (ה) כֹּהֵן׃ כְּשִׁלְתָּהּ יוֹמָם׃

וכשל גס-נביא עמך  
לילה דמיתי<sup>9</sup> אמך;  
(6) נדמו עמי מבלי הדעת  
כי אתה הדעת מאסת  
ואמאסך<sup>10</sup> מכדן לי  
ותשכח תורת אלהיך  
אשכח בניך גס-אני:

(7) כרבים כן חטאו<sup>11</sup> III

כבודם בקלון המיירו<sup>12</sup>;  
(8) חטאת עמי יאכלו

ואל עונם ישאו נפשו;  
(9) ודחה כעם כדן

ופקדתי עליו דרכיו  
ומעלליו אשיב לו;  
(10) ואכלו ולא ישבעו

הזנו ולא יתְרַצוּ<sup>13</sup>  
כִּי-אֲתִי-יְהוָה עֲזָבוּ [לשמר]<sup>14</sup>;  
(12ab) עמי בעצו ישאל  
ומקלו יגיד לו

(11) זנות יין ותירוש יקחלב: IV

(12cd) כי רוח זנונים התעם<sup>15</sup>

ויזנו מתחת אלהיהם;  
(13) על-ראשי ההרים יזבחו

ועל הגבעות יקטרו  
תחת אלוך ולבנה ואלה<sup>16</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Cf. G. A. Smith, who also joins כֹּהֵן with vs. 5 as a vocative, while Beck reads כֹּהֵן as a vocative at the end of vs. 4.

<sup>10</sup> So Wellhausen, Nowack, Oettli. Note the absence of the article in the corresponding לילה and the difficulty of rendering הִיָּוִם by day, as the context requires.

<sup>11</sup> דמיתי of אֵם with אֵם.

<sup>12</sup> So many MSS. and most commentators. ואמאסך of אֵם is a copyist's error.

<sup>13</sup> Omit לי of אֵם with אֵם.

<sup>14</sup> So אֵם, אֵם; and Geiger, *Urtext*, p. 316; Houtsma, *Theol. Tijdschrift*, Vol. IX, p. 60; Oort; Valeton; Ruben; G. A. Smith; cf. Buhl, *Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft*, 1881, pp. 221 sq. אֵם, אֵם, is unsuitable here.

<sup>15</sup> So אֵם; and Wellhausen, Oort, Valeton, Bachmann, Nowack. יִפְרִצוּ, is unintelligible here.

<sup>16</sup> This ought perhaps to be omitted; for (1) it is superfluous to the sense and rhythm, (2) no other case occurs of ל with the infinitive following עֲזָבוּ.

<sup>17</sup> For הִיָּוִם of אֵם; so אֵם, אֵם, and Graetz, Bachmann, Ruben, Wellhausen, Nowack, Oort, Oettli, Halévy.

<sup>18</sup> כי טוב צלה is omitted as a gloss; so also Nowack.

על-כן חזנינה בנוחיתכם  
 וכלוחיתכם תנאפנה :  
 (14abc) לא-אפקוד על-בנוחיתכם כי חזנינה  
 ועל-כלוחיתכם כי תנאפנה  
 כי הם עם-הזנות יפרדו  
 ועם הקדשות יזבחו

(15) אס-זנה אתה ישראל V  
 אל-יאשם יהודה  
 ואל-תבאו הגלגל  
 ואל-תעלו בית און  
 ואל-תשבטו בבאר שבע<sup>17</sup> ח-יהודה :  
 (16) כי כפרה סררה סרר ישראל  
 עתה ירעם יהודה ככבש במרחב :  
 (17) חבור עצבים אפרים הנחלו :  
 (18) סר סבאים<sup>18</sup> הזנה הזנו  
 אהבו<sup>19</sup> קלון מגניה :  
 (19) צרר רוח אותה בכנפיה  
 ויבטו ממזבחיהם<sup>20</sup> :

### 6. *The Guilt of Priests and Princes: 5:1-14.*

This section has four strophes each of twelve lines, in the trimeter movement.

The thought is as follows: For lack of the knowledge of Yahweh Israel's priests and princes have defiled her, and she, consequently, has become faithless to him. A twofold punishment will be inflicted: an invading army from without; corruption and anarchy with civil war from within.

Strophe I (vss. 1-3) designates those who are responsible.

Strophe II (vss. 4-7) points out how these persons stand related to Yahweh.

<sup>17</sup> This insertion is justified by the parallelism which calls for the name of a town in this line, and by the analogy of Amos 5:5; 8:14. So Wellhausen and Nowack. Note also the paranomasia in the line as reconstructed.

<sup>18</sup> So Houtama, *Theol. Tijdschrift*, Vol. IX, p. 60; Wellhausen; and Oettli. **סר סבאים**, defies interpretation.

<sup>19</sup> Omit **אהבו** of **סר סבאים** with **ס**, **ש**, **י**, and some Hebrew MSS.; so also Secker, Dathe, Kuinöl, Newcome, Hitzig, Oort, Valetton, Guthe, Graetz, Ruben, G. A. Smith, Nowack, Halévy, et al.

<sup>20</sup> For **מזבחיהם** of **סר סבאים**; so **ס**, **ש**, **י**, Old Latin, Arabic, and Wellhausen, Winckler (*Untersuchungen*), Bachmann, Oort, Valetton, Ruben, Guthe, Nowack, Davidson (Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. II, p. 425), and Oettli. **זבחה** does not form a plural with the feminine ending. Cf. 8:11.

Strophe III (vss. 8–11) pictures the impending destruction as one coming from without, viz., a hostile army.

Strophe IV (vss. 12–14) gives the picture of the destruction from within, viz., corruption and anarchy.

The only modification of the text required by the strophical arrangement is the omission of the words **בצאנם ובבקרים** from vs. 6.

(5:1) I שִׁמְעוּ זֹאת הַכֹּהֲנִים

וְהַקְשִׁיבוּ בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל  
וּבֵּית הַמֶּלֶךְ הָאֲזִינוּ  
כִּי לָכֶם הַמִּשְׁפָּט  
כִּי־פָח הָיִיתֶם לַמִּצְפָּה  
וְרִשְׁתָּ פְרוּשָׁה עַל תְּבוּר :  
(2) וְשָׁחַת הַשָּׂטִיִּם<sup>21</sup> הַעֲמִיקוּ  
וְאִין<sup>22</sup> מוֹסֵר לְכֻלָּם :  
(3) אֲנִי יָדַעְתִּי אִפְרַיִם  
וְיִשְׂרָאֵל לֹא־נִכְחַד מִמֶּנִּי  
כִּי אֶתָּה<sup>23</sup> הִזְנִיתָ אִפְרַיִם  
נִטְמָא יִשְׂרָאֵל :

(4) II לֹא יִתְּנוּ מַעֲלִיָּהֶם

לְשׁוֹב אֱלֹהֵיהֶם  
כִּי רוּחַ זְנוּנִים בִּקְרָבָם  
וְאֶת־יְהוָה לֹא יָדָע :  
(5) וַעֲנֵה נֶאֱוָן־יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּפִנּוּ  
וְאִפְרַיִם<sup>24</sup> יִכְשְׁלוּ בַעֲנֻם  
כְּשֵׁל גַּם־יְהוָה עִמָּם :  
(6) יִלְכוּ<sup>25</sup> לִבְקֵשׁ אֶת־יְהוָה  
וְלֹא־יִמְצְאוּ חֶלֶץ מֵהֶם :  
(7) בִּיהוָה בְּגֵדוֹ  
כִּי־בָנִים זָרִים יִלְדוּ  
עַתָּה יֹאכְלֻם חֹדֶשׁ אֶת־חֻלְקֵיהֶם :

(8) III תִּקְעוּ שׁוֹפָר בְּגִבְעָה

חֲצֻצְרָה בְּרִמָּה

<sup>21</sup> For **שָׂטִיִּם** of **וְשָׁחַת הַשָּׂטִיִּם**; so Wellhausen, Cheyne (Cambridge Bible), Ruben, G. A. Smith, Nowack, Oort; cf. Valetton.

<sup>22</sup> For **אִין** of **וְאִין מוֹסֵר**; so Cheyne, *op. cit.*

<sup>23</sup> For **עֶתָּה** of **כִּי עֶתָּה**; so Wellhausen and Oettli.

<sup>24</sup> **יִשְׂרָאֵל** of **וְאִין** is to be omitted; because "Israel" and "Ephraim" are used interchangeably by Hosea (e. g., in 4:16 sq.; 5:3, 11 sqq.; 7:1; 11:8), hence one of them is superfluous in this line. So Oettli; cf. Wellhausen, who omits both.

<sup>25</sup> The words **בצאנם ובבקרים** of **בצאנם ובבקרים** are a gloss, being unnecessary to the sense and superfluous from the metrical point of view.

- הָרִיעוּ בְּבֵית־אֵל<sup>26</sup>  
 הֶחֱרִידוּ<sup>27</sup> בְּנִימִין :  
 (9) אִפְרַיִם לִשְׂמָה תְּהִיָּה  
 בַּיּוֹם תִּזְכָּח  
 בְּשִׁבְטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הִוָּדַעְתִּי נֶאֱמָנָה :  
 (10) הָיָה שָׂרִי יִשְׂרָאֵל<sup>28</sup>  
 כְּמִסְגִּי גָבֹל  
 עֲלִיהֶם אֲשַׁפֹּךְ כִּמִּים עֲבַרְתִּי :  
 (11) עֵשֶׂשֶׁק<sup>29</sup> אִפְרַיִם רוֹצֵץ<sup>30</sup> מִשְׁפָּט  
 כִּי הוֹאִיל הַלֵּךְ אַחֲרֵי שֵׁת[א]<sup>31</sup> :  
 (12) וְאֲנִי כַעַשׁ לְאִפְרַיִם IV  
 וְכָרַקְב לְבֵית יִשְׂרָאֵל<sup>32</sup> :  
 (13) וִירָא אִפְרַיִם אֶת־חֲלִיו  
 וַיִּשְׂרָאֵל<sup>33</sup> אֶת־מִזְרֹו  
 וַיִּלֶּךְ אִפְרַיִם אֶל־אֲשֹׁר  
 וַיִּשְׁלַח יִשְׂרָאֵל<sup>34</sup> אֶל־מֶלֶךְ יִרְבִּי  
 וְהָוָא לֹא יִכַּל לִרְפָּא לָכֵם  
 וְלֹא־יִנְהָה<sup>35</sup> מִכֶּם מִזְרֹו :  
 (14) כִּי אֲנֹכִי כִשְׁחַל לְאִפְרַיִם  
 וְכִכְפִּיר לְבֵית יִשְׂרָאֵל<sup>36</sup>  
 אֲנִי אֲמַרְהָ וְאֶלֶךְ  
 אֲשָׁא וְאֶיךָ מִצִּיל :

### 7. Fitful Repentance Insufficient to Remove Israel's Guilt:

5: 15—7: 7.

There are in this section five strophes of 12+10+10+10+12 lines, in trimeter and occasionally dimeter movement. With the

<sup>26</sup> אֵל, בֵּית אֵל, is a later term of reproach applied to Bethel; so Hitzig, Wellhausen, and Nowack. The insertion of the preposition is justified by the parallels in the two preceding lines.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. א and Old Latin; so Wellhausen, Graetz, Ruben, Nowack, and Oort. אֶחָרִיד, yields no satisfactory meaning.

<sup>28</sup> אֵל, יִרְהוּדָה, here and in vss. 12 sqq. and 5: 4 is a later substitute for יִשְׂרָאֵל; so Marti, *Geschichte d. isr. Religion*, p. 119, and *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, col. 2122; and Nowack.

<sup>29</sup> So א and Old Latin; and Oort, Valetton, Wellhausen, Nowack, Oettli. אֵשׁ points both participles as passives, but this renders the syntax rough and irregular.

<sup>30</sup> So א, א, א, Old Latin; and Dathe, Bauer, Steiner, Simson, Cheyne (*Cambridge Bible*), Oort, Graetz, Ruben, Loftman, Guthe, G. A. Smith, Nowack, Oettli. אֵשׁ, אֵשׁ, is unintelligible.

<sup>31</sup> See note 28.

<sup>32</sup> The parallelism requires the insertion of a subject for יִשְׂרָאֵל, and "Israel" is better than "Judah;" so Bachmann, Nowack, and Cheyne (*Encyclopaedia Biblica*, col. 2331); for contrary view see Kuinöl, Sayce (*Babylonian and Oriental Record*, Vol. II, p. 21), Wellhausen, Oettli, and Halévy.

<sup>33</sup> אֵל, יִרְהוּדָה; but since יִרְהוּדָה is intransitive in Syriac, it is better to point as Hiph'il; so Wellhausen, Nowack, Bachmann, and Oettli.

arrangement proposed, unity of thought and a satisfactory consecution are obtained.

Strophe I (5:15—6:3) represents Yahweh and Israel in soliloquy; the former, abandoning Israel, with the belief that in distress Israel will seek him; the latter, complacently suggesting that Yahweh will easily be found when wanted.

Strophe II (6:4—6) describes Yahweh's impatience with Israel's fitful repentance. Love is the thing he desires, not sacrifice.

Strophe III (6:7—10) describes the terrible wickedness of the Israelitish cities, a wickedness encouraged by the priests.

Strophe IV (6:11—7:2) suggests that a time of turning will surely come, although at this time they are so entangled in sin as not to feel the prickings of conscience.

Strophe V (7:3—7) declares that repentance is impossible in view of the immorality of the nation, from the king down.

In reply to the arguments of Marti, Volz, and others<sup>34</sup> who deny the authenticity of 5:15—6:3 it may be urged, with Nowack and G. A. Smith, (1) that 5:14 sq. is the climax of the threat of punishment and 6:4 cannot possibly be the continuation of 5:14. This is recognized by Volz, who therefore supposes that the original verses which formed the bridge from 5:14 to 6:4 have been forced out by this interpolation; but this is an unprovable hypothesis. (2) The connection between the prayer and what follows is very good if the prayer be taken as an expression of a "too facile repentance" rather than as an expression of genuine, heartfelt repentance. (3) The charge that 5:15—6:3 is only an echo of the thought and phraseology of the following verses (cf. 6:3 and 6:5) at once falls to the ground when the text of 6:3 is properly corrected. (4) There is nothing in the thought of the passage inconsistent with Hosea's times or with Hosea's teaching. (5) The argument against these verses based on the character of the language is very weak; e. g., *בציר להם*, which Volz calls late; the use of *ב* with a noun to denote time is not at all uncommon—it occurs twice elsewhere in Hosea (10:10; 7:3(?)), and the use of *ל* to denote the genitive is certainly not late. The claim that *טֵרֶם* = *tear* occurs only in Job is strange in view of Hosea 5:14; Amos 1:11; Nahum 2:13. *רֵדָה* with *ל* in figurative sense, if it occurs only here, is of no value as an argument for either a late or an early date. It is scarcely to be supposed

<sup>34</sup> So, e. g., Cheyne in W. R. Smith, *Prophets of Israel*, pp. xx sqq.; Grimm, *Liturgical Appendices*, pp. 69 sqq.

that a new name for the autumn rains was proposed in the times of Jeremiah; even if מלקיש does not appear in earlier literature, it must have been in use. In any case the objection based on יורה disappears when the text is emended to ירה, as here. Moreover, as Cheyne and Volz acknowledge, this passage has linguistic and phraseological affinities with Hosea's style as seen in the context, viz., in the use of טרה, רפא, and לכו נשובה, while "after two days" (6:2) is perhaps an allusion to "shall abide many days" in 3:4. "Knowledge of Yahweh" (6:3) is one of the fundamental ideas of Hosea (6:6, etc.).

Among other analyses of this material are the following: Ewald, 5:11-15; 6:1-5; 6:6-11a; 6:11b-7:7. Simson, 6:1-3; 6:4-6; 6:7-11; 7:1-7. Keil, 6:1-3; 6:4-11; 7:1-7. Cheyne (Camb. Bible), 6:1-3; 6:4-11a; 6:11b-7:7. Wellhausen, 5:10-6:4; 6:5 sq.; 6:7-11; 7:1 sq. (the last three divisions having no inner connection with each other); 7:3-7. Orelli sees no uniform progress of thought in chaps. 5-7; similarly G. A. Smith, who finds chap. 4 the "only really separable bit" of 4:1-7:7, but grants that there are slight breaks at 5:15 and 7:2. Nowack agrees with Wellhausen.

The following suggestions concerning the text, from the point of view of the structure, are submitted:

Strophe I. ונחיה לפני (1.8) is to be taken as a gloss explaining יקימנו, thus relieving an exceedingly long line. Aside from this the parallelism is close and regular.

Strophe II. A line seems to be missing after 6:4, since על-כ of 6:5 does not connect well with what immediately precedes. The line<sup>35</sup> is needed also to complete the otherwise almost perfect parallelism of the strophe.

Strophe III. Lines 5 and 6 are corrupt, but may perhaps be read, *and as troops lie in wait for a man so the priests hide themselves by the way*. 6:11a is of course a gloss.

Strophe IV. Vs. 11b is very doubtful; while 11c is to be connected with what follows, notwithstanding the chapter division.

Strophe V. Vs. 4, beginning כמו חנור, is a gloss explaining vs. 6.

אלך אשובה אל-מקומי (5:15) I  
עד אשר-ישמר<sup>36</sup> ובקשו פני

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Nowack.

<sup>36</sup> יאשמר; but neither of the meanings of this verb is suitable here. Cf. G, V, and Old Latin. So Wellhausen, Nowack, and Oettli.



- בצר להם ישחרני:  
 (6:1) [לאמר] לכו ונשובה אל־יהוה  
 כי הוא טרף וירפאנו  
 ויך<sup>37</sup> ויחבשנו:  
 (2) יחינו מימים  
 ביום השלישי יקמנו<sup>38</sup>  
 (3) ונדעה נרדפה לדעת את־יהוה  
 כשחרנו כן<sup>39</sup> נמצאהו<sup>40</sup>  
 ויבוא כגשם לנו  
 כמלקוש יְהוָה<sup>41</sup> ארץ:

- II  
 (4) מִה אַעֲשֶׂה־לְךָ אִפְרַיִם  
 מִה אַעֲשֶׂה־לְךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל<sup>42</sup>  
 וחסדכם כענן בקר  
 וכטל משכים הלך  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 (5) עַל־כֵּן חֲצַבְתִּי בְנֵי־אִיִּם  
 הִרְגַּתִּים בְּאִמְרֵי פִי  
 וּמִשְׁפָּטִי כְּאוֹר<sup>43</sup> יֵצֵא:  
 (6) כִּי חֶסֶד חֲפַצְתִּי וְלֹא־זִבְחָה  
 ודעת אלהים מעלות:

- III  
 (7) וְהִמָּה כְּאִדָּם עֲבְרוּ בְרִית  
 שֶׁם בְּגִדְרֵבִי:  
 (8) גִּלְעָד קִרִּית פְּעֻלִי אֹךְ  
 עֲקֵבָה מִדָּם:  
 (9) וְכֹה־כִי אִישׁ גִּדּוּדִים  
 תִּפְאֹר<sup>44</sup> כְּהֹנִים דֶּרֶךְ

<sup>37</sup> Supplied by G and S.

<sup>38</sup> So G; and Wellhausen, Bachmann, G. A. Smith, Nowack, Oettli. <sup>42</sup> <sup>43</sup> <sup>44</sup> <sup>45</sup> <sup>46</sup> <sup>47</sup> <sup>48</sup> <sup>49</sup> <sup>50</sup> <sup>51</sup> <sup>52</sup> <sup>53</sup> <sup>54</sup> <sup>55</sup> <sup>56</sup> <sup>57</sup> <sup>58</sup> <sup>59</sup> <sup>60</sup> <sup>61</sup> <sup>62</sup> <sup>63</sup> <sup>64</sup> <sup>65</sup> <sup>66</sup> <sup>67</sup> <sup>68</sup> <sup>69</sup> <sup>70</sup> <sup>71</sup> <sup>72</sup> <sup>73</sup> <sup>74</sup> <sup>75</sup> <sup>76</sup> <sup>77</sup> <sup>78</sup> <sup>79</sup> <sup>80</sup> <sup>81</sup> <sup>82</sup> <sup>83</sup> <sup>84</sup> <sup>85</sup> <sup>86</sup> <sup>87</sup> <sup>88</sup> <sup>89</sup> <sup>90</sup> <sup>91</sup> <sup>92</sup> <sup>93</sup> <sup>94</sup> <sup>95</sup> <sup>96</sup> <sup>97</sup> <sup>98</sup> <sup>99</sup> <sup>100</sup> <sup>101</sup> <sup>102</sup> <sup>103</sup> <sup>104</sup> <sup>105</sup> <sup>106</sup> <sup>107</sup> <sup>108</sup> <sup>109</sup> <sup>110</sup> <sup>111</sup> <sup>112</sup> <sup>113</sup> <sup>114</sup> <sup>115</sup> <sup>116</sup> <sup>117</sup> <sup>118</sup> <sup>119</sup> <sup>120</sup> <sup>121</sup> <sup>122</sup> <sup>123</sup> <sup>124</sup> <sup>125</sup> <sup>126</sup> <sup>127</sup> <sup>128</sup> <sup>129</sup> <sup>130</sup> <sup>131</sup> <sup>132</sup> <sup>133</sup> <sup>134</sup> <sup>135</sup> <sup>136</sup> <sup>137</sup> <sup>138</sup> <sup>139</sup> <sup>140</sup> <sup>141</sup> <sup>142</sup> <sup>143</sup> <sup>144</sup> <sup>145</sup> <sup>146</sup> <sup>147</sup> <sup>148</sup> <sup>149</sup> <sup>150</sup> <sup>151</sup> <sup>152</sup> <sup>153</sup> <sup>154</sup> <sup>155</sup> <sup>156</sup> <sup>157</sup> <sup>158</sup> <sup>159</sup> <sup>160</sup> <sup>161</sup> <sup>162</sup> <sup>163</sup> <sup>164</sup> <sup>165</sup> <sup>166</sup> <sup>167</sup> <sup>168</sup> <sup>169</sup> <sup>170</sup> <sup>171</sup> <sup>172</sup> <sup>173</sup> <sup>174</sup> <sup>175</sup> <sup>176</sup> <sup>177</sup> <sup>178</sup> <sup>179</sup> <sup>180</sup> <sup>181</sup> <sup>182</sup> <sup>183</sup> <sup>184</sup> <sup>185</sup> <sup>186</sup> <sup>187</sup> <sup>188</sup> <sup>189</sup> <sup>190</sup> <sup>191</sup> <sup>192</sup> <sup>193</sup> <sup>194</sup> <sup>195</sup> <sup>196</sup> <sup>197</sup> <sup>198</sup> <sup>199</sup> <sup>200</sup> <sup>201</sup> <sup>202</sup> <sup>203</sup> <sup>204</sup> <sup>205</sup> <sup>206</sup> <sup>207</sup> <sup>208</sup> <sup>209</sup> <sup>210</sup> <sup>211</sup> <sup>212</sup> <sup>213</sup> <sup>214</sup> <sup>215</sup> <sup>216</sup> <sup>217</sup> <sup>218</sup> <sup>219</sup> <sup>220</sup> <sup>221</sup> <sup>222</sup> <sup>223</sup> <sup>224</sup> <sup>225</sup> <sup>226</sup> <sup>227</sup> <sup>228</sup> <sup>229</sup> <sup>230</sup> <sup>231</sup> <sup>232</sup> <sup>233</sup> <sup>234</sup> <sup>235</sup> <sup>236</sup> <sup>237</sup> <sup>238</sup> <sup>239</sup> <sup>240</sup> <sup>241</sup> <sup>242</sup> <sup>243</sup> <sup>244</sup> <sup>245</sup> <sup>246</sup> <sup>247</sup> <sup>248</sup> <sup>249</sup> <sup>250</sup> <sup>251</sup> <sup>252</sup> <sup>253</sup> <sup>254</sup> <sup>255</sup> <sup>256</sup> <sup>257</sup> <sup>258</sup> <sup>259</sup> <sup>260</sup> <sup>261</sup> <sup>262</sup> <sup>263</sup> <sup>264</sup> <sup>265</sup> <sup>266</sup> <sup>267</sup> <sup>268</sup> <sup>269</sup> <sup>270</sup> <sup>271</sup> <sup>272</sup> <sup>273</sup> <sup>274</sup> <sup>275</sup> <sup>276</sup> <sup>277</sup> <sup>278</sup> <sup>279</sup> <sup>280</sup> <sup>281</sup> <sup>282</sup> <sup>283</sup> <sup>284</sup> <sup>285</sup> <sup>286</sup> <sup>287</sup> <sup>288</sup> <sup>289</sup> <sup>290</sup> <sup>291</sup> <sup>292</sup> <sup>293</sup> <sup>294</sup> <sup>295</sup> <sup>296</sup> <sup>297</sup> <sup>298</sup> <sup>299</sup> <sup>300</sup> <sup>301</sup> <sup>302</sup> <sup>303</sup> <sup>304</sup> <sup>305</sup> <sup>306</sup> <sup>307</sup> <sup>308</sup> <sup>309</sup> <sup>310</sup> <sup>311</sup> <sup>312</sup> <sup>313</sup> <sup>314</sup> <sup>315</sup> <sup>316</sup> <sup>317</sup> <sup>318</sup> <sup>319</sup> <sup>320</sup> <sup>321</sup> <sup>322</sup> <sup>323</sup> <sup>324</sup> <sup>325</sup> <sup>326</sup> <sup>327</sup> <sup>328</sup> <sup>329</sup> <sup>330</sup> <sup>331</sup> <sup>332</sup> <sup>333</sup> <sup>334</sup> <sup>335</sup> <sup>336</sup> <sup>337</sup> <sup>338</sup> <sup>339</sup> <sup>340</sup> <sup>341</sup> <sup>342</sup> <sup>343</sup> <sup>344</sup> <sup>345</sup> <sup>346</sup> <sup>347</sup> <sup>348</sup> <sup>349</sup> <sup>350</sup> <sup>351</sup> <sup>352</sup> <sup>353</sup> <sup>354</sup> <sup>355</sup> <sup>356</sup> <sup>357</sup> <sup>358</sup> <sup>359</sup> <sup>360</sup> <sup>361</sup> <sup>362</sup> <sup>363</sup> <sup>364</sup> <sup>365</sup> <sup>366</sup> <sup>367</sup> <sup>368</sup> <sup>369</sup> <sup>370</sup> <sup>371</sup> <sup>372</sup> <sup>373</sup> <sup>374</sup> <sup>375</sup> <sup>376</sup> <sup>377</sup> <sup>378</sup> <sup>379</sup> <sup>380</sup> <sup>381</sup> <sup>382</sup> <sup>383</sup> <sup>384</sup> <sup>385</sup> <sup>386</sup> <sup>387</sup> <sup>388</sup> <sup>389</sup> <sup>390</sup> <sup>391</sup> <sup>392</sup> <sup>393</sup> <sup>394</sup> <sup>395</sup> <sup>396</sup> <sup>397</sup> <sup>398</sup> <sup>399</sup> <sup>400</sup> <sup>401</sup> <sup>402</sup> <sup>403</sup> <sup>404</sup> <sup>405</sup> <sup>406</sup> <sup>407</sup> <sup>408</sup> <sup>409</sup> <sup>410</sup> <sup>411</sup> <sup>412</sup> <sup>413</sup> <sup>414</sup> <sup>415</sup> <sup>416</sup> <sup>417</sup> <sup>418</sup> <sup>419</sup> <sup>420</sup> <sup>421</sup> <sup>422</sup> <sup>423</sup> <sup>424</sup> <sup>425</sup> <sup>426</sup> <sup>427</sup> <sup>428</sup> <sup>429</sup> <sup>430</sup> <sup>431</sup> <sup>432</sup> <sup>433</sup> <sup>434</sup> <sup>435</sup> <sup>436</sup> <sup>437</sup> <sup>438</sup> <sup>439</sup> <sup>440</sup> 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<sup>507</sup> <sup>508</sup> <sup>509</sup> <sup>510</sup> <sup>511</sup> <sup>512</sup> <sup>513</sup> <sup>514</sup> <sup>515</sup> <sup>516</sup> <sup>517</sup> <sup>518</sup> <sup>519</sup> <sup>520</sup> <sup>521</sup> <sup>522</sup> <sup>523</sup> <sup>524</sup> <sup>525</sup> <sup>526</sup> <sup>527</sup> <sup>528</sup> <sup>529</sup> <sup>530</sup> <sup>531</sup> <sup>532</sup> <sup>533</sup> <sup>534</sup> <sup>535</sup> <sup>536</sup> <sup>537</sup> <sup>538</sup> <sup>539</sup> <sup>540</sup> <sup>541</sup> <sup>542</sup> <sup>543</sup> <sup>544</sup> <sup>545</sup> <sup>546</sup> <sup>547</sup> <sup>548</sup> <sup>549</sup> <sup>550</sup> <sup>551</sup> <sup>552</sup> <sup>553</sup> <sup>554</sup> <sup>555</sup> <sup>556</sup> <sup>557</sup> <sup>558</sup> <sup>559</sup> <sup>560</sup> <sup>561</sup> <sup>562</sup> <sup>563</sup> <sup>564</sup> <sup>565</sup> <sup>566</sup> <sup>567</sup> <sup>568</sup> <sup>569</sup> <sup>570</sup> <sup>571</sup> <sup>572</sup> <sup>573</sup> <sup>574</sup> <sup>575</sup> <sup>576</sup> <sup>577</sup> <sup>578</sup> <sup>579</sup> <sup>580</sup> <sup>581</sup> <sup>582</sup> <sup>583</sup> <sup>584</sup> <sup>585</sup> <sup>586</sup> <sup>587</sup> <sup>588</sup> <sup>589</sup> <sup>590</sup> <sup>591</sup> <sup>592</sup> <sup>593</sup> <sup>594</sup> <sup>595</sup> <sup>596</sup> <sup>597</sup> <sup>598</sup> <sup>599</sup> <sup>600</sup> <sup>601</sup> <sup>602</sup> <sup>603</sup> <sup>604</sup> <sup>605</sup> <sup>606</sup> <sup>607</sup> <sup>608</sup> <sup>609</sup> <sup>610</sup> <sup>611</sup> <sup>612</sup> <sup>613</sup> <sup>614</sup> <sup>615</sup> <sup>616</sup> <sup>617</sup> <sup>618</sup> <sup>619</sup> <sup>620</sup> <sup>621</sup> <sup>622</sup> <sup>623</sup> <sup>624</sup> <sup>625</sup> <sup>626</sup> <sup>627</sup> <sup>628</sup> <sup>629</sup> <sup>630</sup> <sup>631</sup> <sup>632</sup> <sup>633</sup> <sup>634</sup> <sup>635</sup> <sup>636</sup> <sup>637</sup> <sup>638</sup> <sup>639</sup> <sup>640</sup> <sup>641</sup> <sup>642</sup> <sup>643</sup> <sup>644</sup> <sup>645</sup> <sup>646</sup> <sup>647</sup> <sup>648</sup> <sup>649</sup> <sup>650</sup> <sup>651</sup> <sup>652</sup> <sup>653</sup> <sup>654</sup> <sup>655</sup> <sup>656</sup> <sup>657</sup> <sup>658</sup> <sup>659</sup> <sup>660</sup> <sup>661</sup> <sup>662</sup> <sup>663</sup> <sup>664</sup> <sup>665</sup> <sup>666</sup> <sup>667</sup> <sup>668</sup> <sup>669</sup> <sup>670</sup> <sup>671</sup> <sup>672</sup> <sup>673</sup> <sup>674</sup> <sup>675</sup> <sup>676</sup> <sup>677</sup> <sup>678</sup> <sup>679</sup> <sup>680</sup> <sup>681</sup> <sup>682</sup> <sup>683</sup> <sup>684</sup> <sup>685</sup> <sup>686</sup> <sup>687</sup> <sup>688</sup> <sup>689</sup> <sup>690</sup> <sup>691</sup> <sup>692</sup> <sup>693</sup> <sup>694</sup> <sup>695</sup> <sup>696</sup> <sup>697</sup> <sup>698</sup> <sup>699</sup> <sup>700</sup> <sup>701</sup> <sup>702</sup> <sup>703</sup> <sup>704</sup> <sup>705</sup> <sup>706</sup> <sup>707</sup> <sup>708</sup> <sup>709</sup> <sup>710</sup> <sup>711</sup> <sup>712</sup> <sup>713</sup> <sup>714</sup> <sup>715</sup> <sup>716</sup> <sup>717</sup> <sup>718</sup> <sup>719</sup> <sup>720</sup> <sup>721</sup> <sup>722</sup> <sup>723</sup> <sup>724</sup> <sup>725</sup> <sup>726</sup> <sup>727</sup> <sup>728</sup> <sup>729</sup> <sup>730</sup> <sup>731</sup> <sup>732</sup> <sup>733</sup> <sup>734</sup> <sup>735</sup> <sup>736</sup> <sup>737</sup> <sup>738</sup> <sup>739</sup> <sup>740</sup> <sup>741</sup> <sup>742</sup> <sup>743</sup> <sup>744</sup> <sup>745</sup> <sup>746</sup> <sup>747</sup> <sup>748</sup> <sup>749</sup> <sup>750</sup> <sup>751</sup> <sup>752</sup> <sup>753</sup> <sup>754</sup> <sup>755</sup> <sup>756</sup> <sup>757</sup> <sup>758</sup> <sup>759</sup> <sup>760</sup> <sup>761</sup> <sup>762</sup> <sup>763</sup> <sup>764</sup> <sup>765</sup> <sup>766</sup> <sup>767</sup> <sup>768</sup> <sup>769</sup> <sup>770</sup> <sup>771</sup> <sup>772</sup> <sup>773</sup> <sup>774</sup> <sup>775</sup> <sup>776</sup> <sup>777</sup> <sup>778</sup> <sup>779</sup> <sup>780</sup> <sup>781</sup> <sup>782</sup> <sup>783</sup> <sup>784</sup> <sup>785</sup> <sup>786</sup> <sup>787</sup> <sup>788</sup> <sup>789</sup> <sup>790</sup> <sup>791</sup> <sup>792</sup> <sup>793</sup> <sup>794</sup> <sup>795</sup> <sup>796</sup> <sup>797</sup> <sup>798</sup> <sup>799</sup> <sup>800</sup> <sup>801</sup> <sup>802</sup> <sup>803</sup> <sup>804</sup> <sup>805</sup> <sup>806</sup> <sup>807</sup> <sup>808</sup> <sup>809</sup> <sup>810</sup> <sup>811</sup> <sup>812</sup> <sup>813</sup> <sup>814</sup> <sup>815</sup> <sup>816</sup> <sup>817</sup> <sup>818</sup> <sup>819</sup> <sup>820</sup> <sup>821</sup> <sup>822</sup> <sup>823</sup> <sup>824</sup> <sup>825</sup> <sup>826</sup> <sup>827</sup> <sup>828</sup> <sup>829</sup> <sup>830</sup> <sup>831</sup> <sup>832</sup> <sup>833</sup> <sup>834</sup> <sup>835</sup> <sup>836</sup> <sup>837</sup> <sup>838</sup> <sup>839</sup> <sup>840</sup> <sup>841</sup> <sup>842</sup> <sup>843</sup> <sup>844</sup> <sup>845</sup> <sup>846</sup> <sup>847</sup> <sup>848</sup> <sup>849</sup> <sup>850</sup> <sup>851</sup> <sup>852</sup> <sup>853</sup> <sup>854</sup> <sup>855</sup> <sup>856</sup> <sup>857</sup> <sup>858</sup> <sup>859</sup> <sup>860</sup> <sup>861</sup> <sup>862</sup> <sup>863</sup> <sup>864</sup> <sup>865</sup> <sup>866</sup> <sup>867</sup> <sup>868</sup> <sup>869</sup> <sup>870</sup> <sup>871</sup> <sup>872</sup> <sup>873</sup> <sup>874</sup> <sup>875</sup> <sup>876</sup> <sup>877</sup> <sup>878</sup> <sup>879</sup> <sup>880</sup> <sup>881</sup> <sup>882</sup> <sup>883</sup> <sup>884</sup> <sup>885</sup> <sup>886</sup> <sup>887</sup> <sup>888</sup> <sup>889</sup> <sup>890</sup> <sup>891</sup> <sup>892</sup> <sup>893</sup> <sup>894</sup> <sup>895</sup> <sup>896</sup> <sup>897</sup> <sup>898</sup> <sup>899</sup> <sup>900</sup> <sup>901</sup> <sup>902</sup> <sup>903</sup> <sup>904</sup> <sup>905</sup> <sup>906</sup> <sup>907</sup> <sup>908</sup> <sup>909</sup> <sup>910</sup> <sup>911</sup> <sup>912</sup> <sup>913</sup> <sup>914</sup> <sup>915</sup> <sup>916</sup> <sup>917</sup> <sup>918</sup> <sup>919</sup> <sup>920</sup> <sup>921</sup> <sup>922</sup> <sup>923</sup> <sup>924</sup> <sup>925</sup> <sup>926</sup> <sup>927</sup> <sup>928</sup> <sup>929</sup> <sup>930</sup> <sup>931</sup> <sup>932</sup> <sup>933</sup> <sup>934</sup> <sup>935</sup> <sup>936</sup> <sup>937</sup> <sup>938</sup> <sup>939</sup> <sup>940</sup> <sup>941</sup> <sup>942</sup> <sup>943</sup> <sup>944</sup> <sup>945</sup> <sup>946</sup> <sup>947</sup> <sup>948</sup> <sup>949</sup> <sup>950</sup> <sup>951</sup> <sup>952</sup> <sup>953</sup> <sup>954</sup> <sup>955</sup> <sup>956</sup> <sup>957</sup> <sup>958</sup> <sup>959</sup> <sup>960</sup> <sup>961</sup> <sup>962</sup> <sup>963</sup> <sup>964</sup> <sup>965</sup> <sup>966</sup> <sup>967</sup> <sup>968</sup> <sup>969</sup> <sup>970</sup> <sup>971</sup> <sup>972</sup> <sup>973</sup> <sup>974</sup> <sup>975</sup> <sup>976</sup> <sup>977</sup> <sup>978</sup> <sup>979</sup> <sup>980</sup> <sup>981</sup> <sup>982</sup> <sup>983</sup> <sup>984</sup> <sup>985</sup> <sup>986</sup> <sup>987</sup> <sup>988</sup> <sup>989</sup> <sup>990</sup> <sup>991</sup> <sup>992</sup> <sup>993</sup> <sup>994</sup> <sup>995</sup> <sup>996</sup> <sup>997</sup> <sup>998</sup> <sup>999</sup> <sup>1000</sup>

יִרְצֶהוּ<sup>47</sup> שְׂכֵמָה כִּי־זָמָה עָשׂוּ :

(10) בְּבֵית־אֵל<sup>48</sup> רֵאִיתִי שְׁעוּרִיָּה

שֵׁם זָנִית<sup>49</sup> אֲפָרִים

נִטְמָא יִשְׂרָאֵל

(11c) IV בְּשׁוּבִי שְׁבוּחַ עָמִי

(7:1) בְּרַפְאִי<sup>50</sup> לְיִשְׂרָאֵל

וְנִגְלָה עֵץ אֲפָרִים

וְרֵעוֹת שְׁמִרוֹן [נִרְאוּ]<sup>51</sup>

כִּי־פָעְלוּ שָׁקֶר וְגִבְי־בֹרָא

פֶּשַׁט גְּדוּד בַּחוּץ

(2) וְכֹל יַעֲמִדוּ<sup>52</sup> בְּלִבָּבָם

כֹּל רֵעָם זִכְרָתִי

עָתָה סִבְבוּ מֵעַלְלֵיהֶם

נֹגֵד פָּנָי הָיוּ

(3) V בְּרֵעָם יִמְשָׁחוּ<sup>53</sup> מֶלֶךְ

(4) וּבִכְחַשְׁיָהֶם שָׂרִים כֹּלֵם מִנְאֲפִים

(5) יוֹם מַלְכָּנוּ הִחֲלוּ

שָׂרִים חֲמַת מִיָּין

מִשָּׁךְ יָדוֹ אֶת־לִצְצִים

(6) כִּי־בָעֲרוּ<sup>54</sup> כְּתוּר לֵבָם בְּאִרְבָּם

כִּלְהִלִּילָה יִשָּׁן אֲפָהֶם<sup>55</sup>

בִּקְרָהּ הוּא בָּעִר כֹּאשׁ לַהֲבָה :

(7) כֹּלֵם יַחֲמוּ כְּתוּר

וְאָכְלוּ אֶת שְׁפִטֵיהֶם

כֹּל מַלְכֵיהֶם נָפְלוּ

אֶיךָ־קָרָא בָהֶם אֵלֵי

<sup>47</sup> The unusual use of the maqqēph here has often been noted. It furnishes strong traditional support for the arrangement of the line here adopted.

<sup>48</sup> So Wellhausen, Preuschen (*ZA W.*, Vol. XV, p. 30), Ruben, Oort, Nowack, Oettli. *Cf.* 10:15 and Amos 5:6. אֵל בְּבֵית יִשְׂרָאֵל.

<sup>49</sup> So Wellhausen, Preuschen (*loc. cit.*), Nowack, Oettli. This is better than אֵל זָנִית לְ, *cf.* 1:3, where the same statement is made.

<sup>50</sup> This is supported by א and the parallel בְּשׁוּבִי; so also Oort.

<sup>51</sup> Some such word as this is required by the parallelism and the meter.

<sup>52</sup> The אֵל יִמְשָׁחוּ is obscure and furnishes no satisfactory connection with the context. On this use of עָמִד *cf.* Deut. 25:8; and for the charge of fickleness thus preferred against Israel, *cf.* 4:1 *seq.*; 6:7; 7:13; 10:4, 13; 11:12; 12:1.

<sup>53</sup> So Wellhausen, Oort, Valetton, and Nowack; but *cf.* Oettli. אֵל has יִשְׁמָחוּ.

<sup>54</sup> So א. אֵל is קָרָב, which furnishes no satisfactory meaning.

<sup>55</sup> So א, א, and many Hebrew MSS.; also Dathe, Wünsche, Houtsma, Schmoller, Cheyne (Camb. Bible), W. R. Smith (*Prophets*, p. 413), Wellhausen, Valetton, Ruben, Guthe, Nowack, G. A. Smith, Oettli, *et al.*

## THE EPISTLE OF PELAGIA.

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Under the name of Pelagia a number of saints and martyrs were venerated by the mediæval church, and various Pelagia legends are extant in Greek, Latin, and Syriac.<sup>1</sup> The Ethiopic Pelagia, however, differs materially from all of these, and while it presents resemblances to two of them, it is chiefly interesting as relating a legendary episode in the life of Paul, very like one for which Jerome has hitherto been the chief sponsor. The Epistle of Pelagia is preserved in three British Museum manuscripts, Oriental 686 ("C"), Oriental, 687-8 ("B"), and Oriental 689 ("A"), which have already been described in these pages.<sup>2</sup> It stands tenth among the titles of 686 and 689, and eleventh among those of 687-8, only *Sergius and Bacchus* standing between *Cyprian and Justa* and *Pelagia*.<sup>3</sup> Of these manuscripts B and C are of the eighteenth century, and A of the fifteenth. As in the publication of *Thekla* and *Cyprian* from these manuscripts (*Thekla* from AB, and *Cyprian* from ABC) the oldest manuscript has been preferred, and its text is presented, practically uncorrected, in the following pages, while all the variants of the younger manuscripts B and C, together with a few suggested emendations of the text of A, are collected in the footnotes.

The Ethiopic story of Pelagia is briefly as follows. Paul visits Cæsarea and preaches the gospel, but is arrested as an innovator and after being examined is suffered to depart from the city. Going into the mountains, he encounters a huge lion, which accosts him, and asks Christian instruction, or perhaps baptism. After teaching the lion, Paul returns to the city and restores a dead man to life. The interest thus aroused leads him to resume his preaching, and many believe. Among them is Pelagia, the king's daughter, who renounces her husband to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. Usener, *Legenden der heiligen Pelagia*, 1879; *Acta Sanctorum*, *passim*; Agnes S. Lewis, *Select Narratives of Holy Women* (Studia Sinaitica, IX, X).

<sup>2</sup> Vol. XVII, pp. 65, 66; Vol. XIX, p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> For the earlier titles cf. Vol. XIX, pp. 67, 68.

follow Paul's teaching. The king is incensed at this and orders Paul to be arrested and thrown to a lion in the theater. The lion proves to be the one Paul has lately taught, and instead of devouring Paul, he joins with him in prayer and praise. Amazed at this, the authorities release Paul and the lion, and they depart together. Pelagia is now seized and cast into the brazen cow; she goes in willingly, but rain extinguishes the fire. Her husband, seeing her resolution, kills himself by falling on his sword. The narrative closes abruptly, with no hint of the fate of Pelagia, with whom, it will be observed, it really has very little to do.

The best known of the Pelagia legends is that of Pelagia of Antioch, also called Margarita from her pearls, a rich courtesan, who became a Christian and later, under the name of Pelagius, a hermit. The story falls about the middle of the fifth century, and with it the Ethiopic Pelagia betrays no relationship. Another concerns Pelagia of Tarsus, who was beloved by the son of Diocletian. She left Tarsus in search of the fugitive bishop Clinon, from whom she received baptism. Her lover, in despair at her Christian profession, killed himself, and she suffered martyrdom in a brazen bull, a form of execution found in other acts of martyrdom, *e. g.*, those of Irene.<sup>1</sup> While insuperable differences of time and place distinguish the Ethiopic Pelagia of Cæsarea from this Pelagia of Tarsus, some parallels must not be overlooked. In both, the fugitive Christian leader (Clinon in the Tarsian story, Paul in the Cæsarean) flees into the country where he meets and teaches a Christian inquirer (Pelagia in the Tarsian story; the lion in the Cæsarean). In the Tarsian legend, Pelagia declines to marry the emperor's son; in the Cæsarean, she is herself a king's daughter, and renounces her husband. In both the brazen cow or bull appears as a means of execution, and in both the lover or husband kills himself. Cæsarea, Paul, and the story of the lion, are wanting in the Tarsian legend. A third legend is that of Margarita, a betrothed maiden, who flees, disguised as a man, to a monastery, and becomes a monk under the name of Pelagius.<sup>2</sup> She becomes abbot, but is degraded and expelled on a false charge, and becomes a hermit. Revealing her innocence just before her death, she is thenceforth known as

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. S. Lewis, *Select Narratives*, etc., Translation, p. 135.

<sup>2</sup> H. Usener, *Legenden der heiligen Pelagia*, p. xvi; *Acta Sanctorum*, July, tom. 4, pp. 287 sq.

*Reparata*. While this tale bears no resemblance to the Ethiopic, its heroine, *Margarita-Pelagius-Reparata*, may serve as a slender link between the Ethiopic's Pelagia of Cæsarea, and the only Cæsarean heroine in any way associable with the name of Pelagia — *Reparata* of Cæsarea, a girl of twelve years, who professed Christianity before Decius, and was beheaded.<sup>1</sup>

While it is clearly impossible to derive the Ethiopic Pelagia in all its details, or even in its general outlines, from any of these legends, it is to the story of Pelagia of Tarsus that it owes most. The substitution of Cæsarea for Tarsus as the scene of the story is probably due to the greater familiarity of the former name, rather than to any influence of the legend of *Reparata* (Pelagia) of Cæsarea. The comparison of the Ethiopic with the Tarsian story, too, suggests that some at least of the differences may be due to corruption incident to the successive translations through which the story has passed.

Perplexing as is the problem presented by the Pelagia of the Ethiopic, that suggested by its references to Paul is not less so. As ordinarily conceived, Paul's history has no place for a ministry and arrests at Cæsarea in Palestine; but the Ethiopic martyrologists were seldom hampered by historical or geographical considerations. The quaint story of the converted and friendly lion however assumes something like importance when read in the light of Jerome's words: "Igitur *περίδους* Pauli et Theclae et totam baptizati leonis fabulam inter apocrypha computemus" (*De viris illustribus*, 7). Did Jerome know this story? Did he have vaguely in mind, not the Acts of Paul and Thekla alone, which, as Harnack points out,<sup>2</sup> has no reference to a baptized lion; but, as the use of *Περίδοι* would suggest, the Acts of Paul as a whole?<sup>3</sup> And did the Acts of Paul contain, not simply Paul's "Fight with Beasts at Ephesus," but also a "Deliverance Out of the Mouth of the Lion"? The Fight with Beasts has been recognized as a legendary elaboration of Paul's words in 1 Cor. 15:32: *εἰ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ἐθνηριμάχησα ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, τί μοι τὸ ὄφελος*; Certainly a similar process might have made of 2 Tim. 4:17 — *καὶ ἐρύσθην ἐκ στόματος λέοντος* — such a story

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xvi, xvii; *Acta Sanctorum*, October, tom. 4, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur*; *Chronologie*, p. 494.

<sup>3</sup> The reference to Thekla in the latter part of the Ethiopic Pelagia probably has no significance in connection with the lion story, although its occurrence at once recalls Jerome's words.

as our Ethiopic preserves. And to no one can such a composition be more naturally attributed than to the imaginative author of the Acts of Paul. At the same time, the story of the Fight with Beasts, at least as given by Nicephorus, bears some resemblance to our story, and may adequately account for it, although there are striking elements in the Ethiopic for which Nicephorus affords no parallel.<sup>1</sup> Thus the previous meeting of Paul with the lion, and the conversion of the latter are wanting in Nicephorus. Further, while the Ethiopic does not precisely speak of the baptism of the lion, it is highly probable that its failure to do so is due to an error in translation, and that the version lying back of it described the lion as seeking and receiving baptism at the hands of Paul. The main elements of the Ethiopic Pelagia are thus derived from the story of Pelagia of Tarsus, and from some lost legend of Paul and the lion, of much the same sort as the Acts of Paul.

The writer's thanks are due the authorities of the British Museum for permission to publish from their Ethiopic manuscripts, and to Dr. Enno Littmann, for some very helpful suggestions upon the Ethiopic text here presented.

<sup>1</sup> Nicephorus Callisti, *Hist. Eccles.*, II, 25 (Migne, 145, col. 822). This story, which Nicephorus attributes to the *Περίοδοι Παύλου*, is as follows: A huge lion is let loose upon Paul in the amphitheater at Ephesus, but instead of rending him it fawns upon him; Paul is set at liberty, and the lion escapes. (Cf. Zahn, *Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons*, II, p. 880.) In Hippolytus's *Commentary on Daniel* (III, 29) there is a reference to a similar incident: *εἰ γὰρ πιστεύομεν ὅτι Παύλου εἰς θηρία κατακριθέντος ἀφεθείς ἐκ' αὐτὸν ὁ λέων εἰς τοὺς πόδας ἀναπεσὼν περιεῖληχεν αὐτὸν, πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Δανιὴλ γενόμενα πιστεύσομεν;* (cf. Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur, Chronologie*, pp. 491, 492). The writer evidently believes this story; and Harnack accepts his reference to it as proving the identity of the *Περίοδοι Παύλου* mentioned by Nicephorus with the *Πράξεις Παύλου*.

## መልእክት ፡ ዘጲገፓደ ፡

ዘጲገፓደ<sup>1</sup> ፡ መልእክት<sup>2</sup> ፡ አመ ፡ ሖረ<sup>3</sup> ፡ ጳውሎስ<sup>4</sup> ፡ ብሔረ ፡ ቂሳርያ<sup>5</sup> ፡ ደሰም  
ድ ፡ ኣዕባ<sup>6</sup> ፡ በህየሂ<sup>7</sup> ፡ ፍጥተ<sup>8</sup> ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ በክመ ፡ ልማዱ ፡ ዘልፈ ፡ ወደሐ  
ይስም<sup>9</sup> ፡ በጳውሎስ ፡ ድሉ ፡ ሰብእ<sup>10</sup> ፡ ሀገር ፡ በሕግ ፡ ዘይናፍቅ ፡ ወኢደአምን<sup>11</sup> ፡ እ  
ስመ<sup>12</sup> ፡ አልሮመ<sup>13</sup> ፡ ውስተ<sup>14</sup> ፡ ውለቱ ፡ ወነሥእም<sup>15</sup> ፡ ወአገዝም<sup>16</sup> ፡ ወጥቅሕም ፡ እ  
ንዘ ፡ ደብልም<sup>17</sup> ፡ ሕገ<sup>18</sup> ፡ ዘአልብነ ፡ አምጻእክ<sup>19</sup> ፡ ሰነ<sup>20</sup> ፡ ወይቤሉሙ ፡ ትኣትሰ ፡  
አንትሙሂ<sup>21</sup> ፡ ኢተወሰድክሙ ፡ ትኩንዚ<sup>22</sup> ፡ ወይእኬሰ ፡ ዘትኣት ፡ የኃሥሥ<sup>23</sup> ፡  
ሰብእ ፡ አክቲ ፡ በዘይረትፀ ፡ ወይህይ<sup>24</sup> ፡ የኃሥሥ<sup>25</sup> ፡ በክመ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ነቢይ ፡ ጽዊት<sup>26</sup> ፡  
አእምሩ ፡ አእምሩ ፡ ከመ ፡ አነ<sup>27</sup> ፡ ውለቱ<sup>28</sup> ፡ ወአልሮ ፡ እግዚእ<sup>29</sup> ፡ ዘእንበሌየ ፡ ባፀ  
ድ<sup>30</sup> ፡ ይቤ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ትሰሐልምሙ ፡ ሰአበዊክሙ ፡ ወይነገሩክሙ ፡ ወአእሩ  
ክሙ<sup>31</sup> ፡ ወይእኬይ<sup>32</sup> ፡ ወይኬንጢክሙ<sup>33</sup> ፡ እመሶሁ ፡ ዘእምቅድሚሁ<sup>34</sup> ፡ ዘገብረ ፡  
መንክረ ፡ ወእመሶሂ<sup>35</sup> ፡ ዘእምድገሬሁ<sup>36</sup> ፡ ፈጣሪ<sup>37</sup> ፡ ድሉ ፡ ወአልሮ ፡ ዘእንበሌሁ ፡  
ውለቱ<sup>38</sup> ፡ እምቅድመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ውለቱ ፡ ድገረ ፡ እምዓለም<sup>39</sup> ፡ ትኣትሂ ፡ ው  
ለቱ ፡ ወይእኬሂ ፡ ውለቱ<sup>40</sup> ፡ ወአልሮ ፡ አምሳክ ፡ ዘእንበሌሁ ፡ ዘሰፍሐ<sup>41</sup> ፡ ለሰማ  
ይ ፡ ከመ ፡ ሰይሕ<sup>42</sup> ፡ ወይጠበልሉ<sup>43</sup> ፡ ከመ ፡ ክርታስ ፡ ወድሉ ፡ ይበሊ ፡ ወይማስ  
ን ፡ ውለቱ<sup>44</sup> ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ውለቱ<sup>45</sup> ፡ ወዓመታጉሁ<sup>46</sup> ፡ ኢይሐጽጽ<sup>47</sup> ፡ ሉ  
ቱ<sup>48</sup> ፡ ንገረ ፡ ወኪያሁ ፡ ንሴብሕ ፡ ወገይሉ<sup>49</sup> ፡ ንቂድስ ፡ ወሰስሙ ፡ ንስገድ<sup>50</sup> ፡ ወ  
ንገረ ፡ ወእመዝ ፡ አንከረ<sup>51</sup> ፡ ዝኩ ፡ መኩንን ፡ ወተሀየዮ<sup>52</sup> ፡ ወገደገ<sup>53</sup> ፡

\* *man. prim.* ሐረ ፡

b MS. ፈጠራ ፡

<sup>1</sup> *om.* C. <sup>2</sup> በስመ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ኔአምሳክ ፡ መ  
ልእክት ፡ ዘጲገፓደ ፡ *incip.* B; *om.* C; ዘመሀራ ፡ ጳውሎስ ፡ ፍጥተ ፡ እግዚአብ  
ሔር ፡ *incip.* C. <sup>3</sup> *om.* C. <sup>4</sup> በክመ ፡ *add.* C. <sup>5</sup> *om.* C. <sup>6</sup> ህየ ፡ C.  
<sup>7</sup> ፍጥተ ፡ . . . . ዘልፈ ፡ *om.* C. <sup>8</sup> ወየነይስም ፡ B; ወከቲ ፡ የሐይ (ይ *om.* *man.*  
*prim.*; *suppl. corr.*) ስም ፡ C. <sup>9</sup> ሰብእ ፡ B, q. l. <sup>10</sup> ወኢየአምን ፡ B; ወኢ  
የእምር ፡ C. <sup>11</sup> *om.* C. <sup>12</sup> ልሮመ ፡ C. <sup>13</sup> *om.* C. <sup>14</sup> ወ *om.* B; ሰጳ  
ውሎስ ፡ *add.* C. <sup>15</sup> *om.* C. <sup>16</sup> ደብሉ ፡ C. <sup>17</sup> *tr.* ዘአልብነ ፡ ሕገ ፡ C.  
<sup>18</sup> አምጻእክ ፡ B. <sup>19</sup> ብነ ፡ B. <sup>20</sup> አንትሙሂ ፡ B; ሂ *om.* C. <sup>21</sup> ትትኩንዚ ፡  
BC. <sup>22</sup> የኃሥሥሂ ፡ B; የሐይሱሂ ፡ C. <sup>23</sup> ወይደሉ ፡ C. <sup>24</sup> የሐይሱሂ ፡ C.  
<sup>25</sup> *om.* C. <sup>26</sup> አምሳክ ፡ *add.* C. <sup>27</sup> *om.*; *tr.* ባፀድ ፡ አምሳክ ፡ ዘእንበሌየ ፡  
C. <sup>28</sup> ባፀድ ፡ BC, q. l. <sup>29</sup> ወአቆሩጊክሙ ፡ BC; l. ወአእሩጊክሙ ፡ <sup>30</sup> *om.*  
BC. *recte.* <sup>31</sup> ወ *om.* C. <sup>32</sup> ዘእምቅድሚሁ ፡ C. <sup>33</sup> *om.* C; ሂ *om.* B.  
<sup>34</sup> ወእምድገሬ ፡ C. <sup>35</sup> ውለቱ ፡ BC. <sup>36</sup> እም *om.* BC. <sup>37</sup> ወሰዓለም ፡ ዓ  
ለም ፡ ውለቱ ፡ *add.* B. <sup>38</sup> ዘሰፍሐ ፡ C. <sup>39</sup> l. ስይሕ ፡ <sup>40</sup> ወጠብሰሉ ፡ C.  
<sup>41</sup> ሰ *add.* C. <sup>42</sup> ውለቱ ፡ B. <sup>43</sup> ወ *et* l. *om.* B; ዓመጉሁ ፡ C. <sup>44</sup> ኢየሐ  
ዕፅ ፡ B; ዘኢየህልቅ ፡ C. <sup>45</sup> *tr.* ንገደይ ፡ ሉቱ ፡ ወንስገድ ፡ C *pro* ሉቱ ፡ . . . .  
ወንገረ ፡ <sup>46</sup> ውህይሉ ፡ B. <sup>47</sup> ንስገድ ፡ B. <sup>48</sup> ኃይገ ፡ C. <sup>49</sup> ወተሐየዮ ፡  
B; ወተሐየዮ ፡ C; l. ወተሀየዮ ፡ <sup>50</sup> ውህይገ ፡ B; *om.* C; *cf. lect.* <sup>51</sup>.



ወተገሳሠ<sup>1</sup> : ጳውሎስ : መንገሰ : ደብር ÷ ወእንዘ : ደንሰሱ : በህየ<sup>2</sup> : ጳውሎስ : ረከበ : አንበሳ : ወኑኑ : ፀደጃ<sup>3</sup> : በእመት : ወቆሙ : መጠነ : ረረሰ :: ወተራከሱ<sup>4</sup> : ምስለ : ጳውሎስ : ወተእምኑ : ከመ<sup>5</sup> : ዘይተእመኑ : ወይወሉ : ዝኩ<sup>6</sup> : አንበሳ : ለጳውሎስ<sup>7</sup> : ሐሳዊ<sup>8</sup> : ጳውሎስ<sup>9</sup> : ገብረ : እገዚአብሔር : ወሐዋርያሁ : ለእገዚአ<sup>10</sup> : ሊየሱስ : ክርስቲስ ÷ አሐደ<sup>11</sup> : ብየ : ዘአድግከ<sup>12</sup> : ትገብር : ሊተ ÷ ወይወሉ : ጳውሎስ<sup>13</sup> : በእ : እስማዕ ÷ ወይወሉ : አንበሳ<sup>14</sup> : አብኢ : ዐቢየ<sup>15</sup> : ክርስቲያን ÷ ወረደግ<sup>16</sup> : ሐገ<sup>17</sup> : ዘበሰሱ<sup>18</sup> : ዐሰት ÷ ወእምከ : ተፋደ<sup>19</sup> : ምስለ : ዝኩ<sup>20</sup> : አንበሳ ÷ ወካዕበ : ገብአ : ጳውሎስ : ንበ : ዝኩ<sup>21</sup> : ሀገር<sup>22</sup> ÷

ወይወሉ : ኔ<sup>23</sup> : ብእሲ : እኑየ : ዘይልህቀኒ<sup>24</sup> : ጥቀ : ኢሞተ<sup>25</sup> : ወነፃ : ገበር : ጸሎተ : በዕተየ ÷ ወእምከ : ሖረ : ጳውሎስ : ወረከቦ : ለዘሞተ<sup>26</sup> : ወይወሉ : ምንተ<sup>27</sup> : ከነከመ<sup>28</sup> : ኢትብክዩ<sup>29</sup> : አርምመ<sup>30</sup> : ወአንዘ : ይጸሊ<sup>31</sup> : ጳውሎስ : ወይወሉ : እገዚአ<sup>32</sup> : ሊየሱስ : ክርስቲስ : ዘኢይትሀከይ<sup>33</sup> : ለገብረ : ሠናይ : ንበ : ጸጥዕከ<sup>34</sup> : ወሰመዩከ<sup>35</sup> : ሀሎከ : ዝየ<sup>36</sup> : ወአልቦ : ዘይርእየከ<sup>37</sup> : ወዘይከል<sup>38</sup> : ርእዮትከ<sup>39</sup> : በእንተ<sup>40</sup> : እንሰ<sup>41</sup> : እመ : ሕይወ<sup>42</sup> : አርኢ : ተእምሪከ<sup>43</sup> : ዘዘልፍ : ከመ : ኢይናፍቅ<sup>44</sup> : ሰብእ : ወኢይበሉ : አይተኦማ<sup>45</sup> : ዝኩ<sup>46</sup> : እገዚአ : ዘይመመይ<sup>47</sup> : መፍቀሬ : ሰብእ : አንተ<sup>48</sup> : ሀብ<sup>49</sup> : እገዚአ<sup>50</sup> : ነፍሰ<sup>51</sup> : ለዝ : ብእሲ : እስመ : እምነዕከ<sup>52</sup> : ዙሉ : ጸጋ : ወዘጸገከሂ<sup>53</sup> : ነሲሐከ<sup>54</sup> : ኢተሀይድ : ዘጸገከ<sup>55</sup> : ሃይማኖተ : ሰኔ<sup>56</sup> ÷ ጸገፃ : ለዝኒ<sup>57</sup> : ብእሲ<sup>58</sup> : ሃይማኖተ<sup>59</sup> : እስከ : አመ<sup>60</sup> : ይመጽእ : ካዕበ<sup>61</sup> : ትእዛዝከ : ዘኢይትሐሰወ<sup>62</sup> : ዙነከ<sup>63</sup> ÷ ወይወሉ : አንተ : ብእሲ :

\*MS. ብእሲ : *ex errore.*

<sup>b</sup>*prim. man.* ኢትብክዩ : ?

<sup>1</sup>ወተገሳሠ : BC. <sup>2</sup>ህየ : B; *tr.* ጳውሎስ : ረከበ : በህየ : C. <sup>3</sup>ፀደጃ : B. <sup>4</sup>ወተራከሱ : C, q. l. <sup>5</sup>ከመ : *pro* ከመ : H B. <sup>6</sup>om. C. <sup>7</sup>ሐዊሳ : B, q. l. <sup>8</sup>አ *prae*f. C. <sup>9</sup>ለእገዚአ : BC. <sup>10</sup>ኔድ : ብየ : B; *tr.* ብየ : ኔገር : C. <sup>11</sup>ዘአድግከ : BC; *l.* ዘአድግከ : <sup>12</sup>om. C. <sup>13</sup>ኔ *om.* C. <sup>14</sup>ንበ : ንቢይ : B, ውስተ : ንቢይ : C. <sup>15</sup>ንቢይ : BC. <sup>16</sup>ሐገ : C. <sup>17</sup>በሰሱ : C. <sup>18</sup>ተፋደ : C. <sup>19</sup>ዝንቸ : B. <sup>20</sup>om. B; ዝኩ : C. <sup>21</sup>ሀገር : C. <sup>22</sup>om. B. <sup>23</sup>ዘይልህቀኒ : ሕመም : ውለቸ : ወሐቀ : C; *pro* ዘይልህቀኒ : ጥቀ : <sup>24</sup>ጥቀ : ኢ *om.* B, *recte.* <sup>25</sup>ለዘሞተ : C. <sup>26</sup>ወይወሉ : C. <sup>27</sup>om. C. <sup>28</sup>ከነከመ : C. <sup>29</sup>ወ *prae*f. C. <sup>30</sup>*tr.* ጳውሎስ : ይጸሊ : C. <sup>31</sup>*tr.* ሊየሱስ : ክርስቲስ : እገዚአ : C. <sup>32</sup>ዘኢትሀከይ : BC, q. l. <sup>33</sup>ጳውሎስ : BC, q. l. <sup>34</sup>ወሰመዩከ : C. <sup>35</sup>ህየ : *pro* ዝየ : C. <sup>36</sup>ዘይረእከ : B; *om.* C. <sup>37</sup>ወ *om.* C. <sup>38</sup>ርእዮትከ : BC. <sup>39</sup>om. B. <sup>40</sup>ዕገሰ : B. <sup>41</sup>እመሕይወ : BC. <sup>42</sup>ተእምሪከ : C. <sup>43</sup>ኢይናፍቅ : C. <sup>44</sup>አይተኦማ : B, አንተመ : C. <sup>45</sup>om. C. <sup>46</sup>ዘይሰመይ : BC, q. l. <sup>47</sup>አንተሰ : C. <sup>48</sup>አገብእ : C. <sup>49</sup>om. C. <sup>50</sup>ነፍሰ : BC. <sup>51</sup>እም *om.* C. <sup>52</sup>ኔ *om.* B. <sup>53</sup>ነሲሐከ : B; *tr.* ኢተሀይድ : ነግሐከ : C. <sup>54</sup>ኢ *affix.* C. <sup>55</sup>om. C. <sup>56</sup>ኢ *om.* C. <sup>57</sup>ሃይማኖተ : B, *om.* C. <sup>58</sup>ንበ : C. <sup>59</sup>ወ *prae*f., *add.* ዘኢይትሐሰወ : C.

ተንሥእ፡ ወተንሥእ<sup>1</sup>፡ ወአእመረ፡ ወአምኑ፡ ብዙኃን፡ ወተሰውዎ፡ እንዘ፡ ይብሉ፡ በሀ፡ መሀረ፡ ዘከመዝ<sup>2</sup>፡ ሃይማኖት ፥ ዘስኢሎሙ<sup>3</sup>፡ ምውኃን፡ ይሥሑ<sup>4</sup>፡ ወደሐይዉ<sup>5</sup> ፥ ወይዘሎሙ፡ እመ፡ ብክሙ፡ ሃይማኖት<sup>6</sup>፡ ውስተ<sup>7</sup>፡ ለብክሙ<sup>7</sup>፡ መጠነ<sup>8</sup>፡ ሰናፕ<sup>9</sup>፡ ወትብልዎ፡ ለዝንቱ<sup>10</sup>፡ ደብር፡ ፍልስ፡ ወደፈልስ ፥ ርእዩ፡ ከመ፡ ሃይማኖት<sup>11</sup>፡ ደድኅን፡ በዙሉ፡ ወይዘልዎ፡ እው፡ ንሐዚ፡ ኪያሁ<sup>12</sup>፡ ንስማዕ፡ ንፈቅድ፡ በንቤከ ፥ ወአንዝ፡ ካዕበ፡ ይምሀርሙ፡ ወይዘሎሙ፡ ርእዩ፡ ራእብ<sup>13</sup>፡ ዘማ<sup>14</sup>፡ ከመ፡ በሃይማኖት<sup>15</sup>፡ ቦእት፡ ውስተ፡ መንገዶት፡ ሰማያት ፥ ወርእዩ፡ ከመ<sup>16</sup>፡ እልክቱ<sup>16</sup>፡ ደደቂቅ<sup>17</sup>፡ በሃይማኖትሙ<sup>18</sup>፡ ድኅዚ፡ እምእሳት<sup>19</sup>፡ ርእዩ<sup>19</sup>፡ ከመ፡ በሃይማኖቱ<sup>20</sup>፡ ደድኅን<sup>20</sup>፡ ወበሃይማኖቱ<sup>21</sup>፡ ድኅዚ፡ ጽንኤል<sup>22</sup>፡ እምአፈ፡ አናብስት<sup>23</sup> ፥ ርእዩ<sup>23</sup>፡ ሕዝቅያስ<sup>24</sup>፡ ነቢይ<sup>25</sup>፡ ድኅዚ፡ እምበርቢር<sup>26</sup>፡ ፀቡር<sup>27</sup> ፥ ርእዩ<sup>28</sup>፡ ጤቃላ፡ ከመ፡ በሃይማኖት<sup>29</sup>፡ ድኅዚ<sup>30</sup>፡ እምእሳት፡ ወእምአፈ<sup>31</sup>፡ አናብስት ፥ ርእዩ<sup>31</sup>፡ አብርሃም<sup>32</sup>፡ ከመ፡ በሃይማኖቱ፡ ፀርክዩ<sup>33</sup>፡ ይወሉ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ርእዩ<sup>34</sup>፡ ይስሐቅ<sup>35</sup>፡ ከመ፡ በሃይማኖቱ<sup>36</sup>፡ ድኅዚ፡ እመጥባሕት<sup>37</sup>፡ ወካነ<sup>38</sup>፡ ጽንሐሐ<sup>39</sup>፡ ወሰሊሁ፡ ይስሐቅ፡ ሰምዐ<sup>40</sup>፡ ዘይብል<sup>41</sup> ፥ ወርእዩ፡ ዮሴፍ<sup>42</sup>፡ ከመ፡ በሃይማኖቱ፡ ድኅዚ፡ እመሥዋዕት<sup>43</sup>፡ ወእምዐዘቅት<sup>44</sup>፡ ወእምእኃዊሁ<sup>45</sup>፡ ወእም፡ እደ፡ ፈርዖን፡ ንጉሥ፡ ወሰሊሁ<sup>46</sup>፡ ነገሠ<sup>47</sup> ፥ ወምንት<sup>48</sup>፡ እነገረካሙ፡ ዘባዕጃን<sup>49</sup>፡ ነቢይት፡ ወዘአበዊሂ<sup>50</sup>፡ እለ፡ አሥመርዎ<sup>51</sup>፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፥ ወርእዩ<sup>52</sup>፡ አኃዊሁ<sup>53</sup>፡ ወሕድያዚሁ<sup>54</sup>፡ ኤልያስ<sup>55</sup>፡ ዘሕያው<sup>56</sup>፡ ፀርገ፡ ሰማያት<sup>57</sup>፡ ወአዕረገ፡ ፈጣሪሁ፡ በሰረገላ፡ ዘእሳት<sup>58</sup>፡ እንዘ፡ ይሉብሐዎ<sup>59</sup>፡ በትእ

<sup>1</sup> ሰማያትሙ፡ *prim. man.*፤ *ይ suppl. corr.* <sup>2</sup> እምእሳት፡ *prim. man.*፤ እምእሳት፡ *corr.* <sup>3</sup> *corr.* <sup>4</sup> ወእም፡ አፈ፡ MS. <sup>5</sup> MS. እመ፡ ጥበሕት፡ <sup>6</sup> መ *om. prim. man.*፤ *suppl. corr.*

<sup>1</sup> ወ *om. C.* <sup>2</sup> *tr.* ሃይማኖት፡ ዘከመዝ፡ C. <sup>3</sup> እስመ፡ መስሎሙ፡ ከመ፡ *pro* ዘስኢሎሙ፡ C. <sup>4</sup> ይትሥሑ፡ C. <sup>5</sup> ወደሐይዉ፡ C. <sup>6</sup> ሃይማኖት፡ BC. <sup>7</sup> *om. B.* <sup>8</sup> ንጠተ፡ *add. BC.* <sup>9</sup> ሲ. ሰናፕ፡ <sup>10</sup> ለዝ፡ C. <sup>11</sup> *tr.* ደድኅን፡ ሃይማኖት፡ C. <sup>12</sup> *tr.* ንፈቅድ፡ ከማሁ፡ ንስማዕ፡ C. <sup>13</sup> ራእብ፡ B, ራእብ<sup>13</sup>፡ C. <sup>14</sup> *ፖ affix. B.* <sup>15</sup> በሃይማኖት፡ C. <sup>16</sup> *om. C.* <sup>17</sup> *ፖ affix. C.* *add. ከመ፡* <sup>18</sup> እምእተ፡ እሳት ፥ C. <sup>19</sup> ወ *prae f. C.* *add. ጽንኤል*፡ <sup>20</sup> በ *om. B.* <sup>21</sup> ወበሃይማኖት፡ B; *om. C.* <sup>22</sup> አንበሳ፡ C. <sup>23</sup> ወ *prae f. C.* <sup>24</sup> ሕዝቅያስ<sup>24</sup>፡ BC. <sup>25</sup> ነቢይ፡ B; *om. C.* ከመ፡ በሃይማኖት፡ *add. C.* <sup>26</sup> እምፀቡር፡ C. <sup>27</sup> ዮሴፍ ፥ B; እምግም፡ C. <sup>28</sup> ወ *prae f. BC.* <sup>29</sup> በሃይማኖት፡ BC. <sup>30</sup> ድኅዚ፡ B. <sup>31</sup> ወ *prae f. BC.* <sup>32</sup> ዮሴፍ፡ BC. <sup>33</sup> ወ *prae f. C.* <sup>34</sup> በሃይማኖት፡ C. <sup>35</sup> እምጽንሐሐ፡ B, እምጥጠብሐ ፥ C; *add. ወእመሥዋዕት*፡ <sup>36</sup> *om. BC.* ሲ. ጽንሐሐ፡ <sup>37</sup> ሰምዓ፡ BC; *tr.* ሰምዓ፡ ይስሐቅ፡ C. <sup>38</sup> ብል፡ C. <sup>39</sup> *om. B.* *recte*፡ እመሥዋዕት፡ C. <sup>40</sup> እምግዘቅት፡ B, ወ *om. recte*፡ ወግዘቅት፡ እምግም፡ C. <sup>41</sup> ወእምእደ፡ አኃዊሁ፡ B; *om. C.* <sup>42</sup> *om. B.* <sup>43</sup> *om. C.* <sup>44</sup> *om. B.* <sup>45</sup> ወምንት፡ C. <sup>46</sup> *ፖ affix. C.* <sup>47</sup> *ፖ om. B.* <sup>48</sup> *om. C.* <sup>49</sup> ወ *om. B.* <sup>50</sup> ሲኤልያስ፡ B. <sup>51</sup> ዘሕያው፡ ዮርገ፡ B; *tr.* ዘዮርገ፡ ሕያው፡ C. <sup>52</sup> ሰማያት፡ B; ውስተ፡ ሰማይ፡ C. <sup>53</sup> *om. BC.* ወአፍራሰ፡ እሳት፡ *add. C.* *q. l.* <sup>54</sup> ይስሐብዎ፡ B, *q. l.*

ዛዙ<sup>1</sup>፡ ወበፃይማኖቱ፡ ኤልያስ<sup>1</sup>፡ ሰአለ፡ ነበ፡ እፃዚአብሔር<sup>2</sup>፡ ኢይዝንም<sup>3</sup>፡ ውስተ፡ ምድር፡ ሠለስተ<sup>4</sup>፡ ክረምተ፡ ወስድስተ<sup>5</sup>፡ አውራጃ<sup>6</sup>፡ ወከ፡ ከማሁ፡ ፅዕርእዩ፡ ኤልያስ<sup>7</sup>፡ ዘበ<sup>8</sup>፡ ፃይማኖቱ፡ ስኢሉ፡ ዘለምጽ<sup>9</sup>፡ አሕዩ<sup>10</sup>፡ ወምውታንፃ<sup>11</sup>፡ አሕዩ<sup>12</sup>፡ ወዘፂ<sup>13</sup>፡ በሥኢል<sup>14</sup>፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቲስ፡ ወይእዜ፤ አጋዊ<sup>15</sup>፡ እመኑ<sup>16</sup>፡ በዙሉ፡ ልብክሙ፡ ወበዙሉ፡ ንይልክሙ<sup>17</sup>፡ ወበዙሉ፡ ነፍስክሙ<sup>18</sup>፡ ከመ፡ ክርስቲስ<sup>19</sup>፡ እፃዚአብሔር፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ አሐዱ<sup>20</sup>፡ ውለቱ<sup>21</sup>፡ እፃዚአብሔር፡ ወዙሉ<sup>22</sup>፡ ዘሰኢልክሙ፡ ይሁብክሙ<sup>23</sup>፡ ወይገብር<sup>24</sup>፡ ሰክሙ፡ ወባሕቱ<sup>25</sup>፡ እንገክሙ<sup>26</sup>፡ ሰእመ<sup>27</sup>፡ ተአምኑ፡ ከመ፡ እፃዚአብሔር<sup>28</sup>፡ ወፈቃድ<sup>29</sup>፡ ኢትገብሩ፡ ከንቱ<sup>30</sup>፡ ፃይማኖትክሙ፡ ወምንተ<sup>31</sup>፡ ይበቀሱ<sup>32</sup>፡ አሚን<sup>33</sup>፡ ሰእመ<sup>34</sup>፡ ፈቃድ<sup>35</sup>፡ ኢትገብሩ፡ በዙሉም<sup>36</sup>፡ ናሁ<sup>37</sup>፡ ርእዩ<sup>38</sup>፡ አጋንንቲ<sup>39</sup>፡ የአምኑ፡ ከመ፡ እፃዚአብሔር<sup>40</sup>፡ እፃዚአብሔር፡ ወፈቃድ<sup>41</sup>፡ ኢይገብሩ፡ ከማሁኑ<sup>42</sup>፡ ዘፈቃድ<sup>43</sup>፡ ኢይገብሩ<sup>44</sup>፡ ወትእዛዙ<sup>45</sup>፡ ሰእፃዚአብሔር፡ ኢየባቀሱ<sup>46</sup>፡ ከንቱ<sup>47</sup>፡ እመንቱ<sup>48</sup>፡ ወእመሰኪ<sup>49</sup>፡ ተአምኑ<sup>50</sup>፡ ከመ፡ ክርስቲስ፡ እፃዚአብሔር፡ ኢትስርቀ፡ ኢትዘም<sup>51</sup>፡ ወኢታጣባ፡ አማልክተ፡ ወኢትመሐሉ<sup>52</sup>፡ ወንዦ፡ ቢዳክሙ፡ ኢትፍትዉ፡ ወአክብር<sup>53</sup>፡ አባክ<sup>54</sup>፡ ወእምክ<sup>55</sup>፡ ወፍርሆ<sup>56</sup>፡ ሰእፃዚአብሔር፡ በዙሉ፡ ልብክ<sup>57</sup>፡ ወበዙሉ፡ ንይልክ<sup>58</sup>፡ ወበዙሉ፡ ነፍስክ<sup>59</sup>፡ ካልክ<sup>60</sup>፡ እምኒሁ፡ አልብክ<sup>61</sup>፡ ወውለቱ፡ ፈጣሪክ<sup>62</sup>፡ ወፈጣሪ<sup>63</sup>፡ አበዊክ<sup>64</sup>፡ እምኢየሱስ<sup>65</sup>፡ ካልክ<sup>66</sup>፡

<sup>a</sup> *prim. man.* እንገረክሙ፡ ; እንገክሙ፡ *corr.* <sup>b</sup> *corr.*; *prim. man.* ከሀማሁኑ፡ ?

<sup>1</sup> *om.* C. <sup>2</sup> ከመ፡ *add.* C. <sup>3</sup> ዝናም፡ *add.* C. <sup>4</sup> F BC. <sup>5</sup> ወ ጁ BC. <sup>6</sup> አውራጃ፡ BC. <sup>7</sup> ኤልያስ<sup>7</sup>፡ BC, l. ኤልያስ<sup>7</sup>፡ <sup>8</sup> ከመ፡ በ C. <sup>9</sup> ዘለም፡ B; *add.* አንጽሐ፡ C. <sup>10</sup> አሕዩ፡ ? B; ወአሕዩ፡ C. <sup>11</sup> ወምውታን፡ B; ወሙታን፡ C. <sup>12</sup> አንሥእ፡ C. <sup>13</sup> ወዝንቱ፡ C. <sup>14</sup> በስኢል፡ BC, q. l. <sup>15</sup> አጋዊ፡ BC. <sup>16</sup> *om.* BC; *cf. lect.* <sup>17</sup> ንይልክሙ፡ BC. <sup>18</sup> እመኑ፡ *add.* C. <sup>19</sup> *om.* C. <sup>20</sup> ጁ BC. <sup>21</sup> *om.* C. <sup>22</sup> *tr.* ይገብር፡ ሰክሙ፡ ዙሉ፡ ዘሰኢልክሙ፡ C. <sup>23</sup> ወ *om.* C; *cf. lect.* <sup>24</sup> እንገረክሙ፡ BC, q. l. <sup>25</sup> ሰእለ፡ C. <sup>26</sup> እፃዚአብሔር፡ *add.* C, q. l. <sup>27</sup> ወፈቃድ፡ BC, q. l. <sup>28</sup> ከንቱ፡ C. <sup>29</sup> ወ *om.* C. <sup>30</sup> ይበቀሱ፡ B. <sup>31</sup> በዙሉም፡ *add.* C. <sup>32</sup> ሰእለ፡ C. <sup>33</sup> ፈቃድ፡ BC, q. l. <sup>34</sup> *om.* C. <sup>35</sup> ወ *praef.* C. <sup>36</sup> ከመ፡ *add.* BC. <sup>37</sup> ጁ *pro* ፤ C. <sup>38</sup> ሐ *om.* B *man. prim.*; *suppl. corr.* <sup>39</sup> ፈቃድሰ፡ C; *tr.* ወኢይገብሩ፡ ፈቃድ፡ B, q. l. <sup>40</sup> ዘፈቃድ፡ BC, q. l. <sup>41</sup> ኢይገብር፡ BC. <sup>42</sup> ወትእዛዙ፡ BC, l. ትእዛዙ፡ <sup>43</sup> ዘኢየፃቅሱ፡ B, ኢየፃቅሱ፡ C. <sup>44</sup> ውለቱ፡ *add.* C. <sup>45</sup> እምነቱ፡ C. <sup>46</sup> ከ *om.* BC. <sup>47</sup> ተአምኑ፡ B. <sup>48</sup> *tr.* ወኢታጣባ፡ ወኢትዘም፡ C. <sup>49</sup> ወኢትመሐሉ፡ BC, q. l. <sup>50</sup> ወአክብሩ፡ C. <sup>51</sup> አባክሙ፡ C. <sup>52</sup> ወእመክ፡ B, q. l.; ወእመክሙ፡ C. <sup>53</sup> ወፍርሆ፡ C. <sup>54</sup> ልብክሙ፡ C. <sup>55</sup> ንይልክ፡ B; *tr.* ነፍስክሙ፡ ወበዙሉ፡ ንይልክሙ፡ C. <sup>56</sup> ካልክ፡ B, q. l.; *tr.* ወእምኒሁ፡ ካልክ፡ C. <sup>57</sup> አልቦ፡ እፃዚአብሔር፡ <sup>58</sup> ፈጣሪክ፡ B, ፈጣሪክሙ፡ C; ፈጣሪክ፡ <sup>59</sup> ወፈጣሪ፡ BC, q. l. <sup>60</sup> አቡክ፡ B, q. l.; አበዊክሙ፡ C. <sup>61</sup> *tr.* አልቦ፡ ካልክ፡ እምኒሁ፡ እምኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቲስ፡ C. <sup>62</sup> ካልክ፡ BC, q. l.

አልብከ፡ አምላክ ፥ ወእምፍሬ፡ ሴትከ<sup>1</sup>፡ ሀብ<sup>2</sup>፡ ለነዳዶ<sup>3</sup>፡ ቀዳሜ፡ ማእረርከ<sup>4</sup>፡  
አብእ<sup>5</sup>፡ ሴት፡ ለእገዚአብሔር፡ አምላክከ<sup>6</sup> ፥

ወዘነተ፡ ትእዛዝ፡ እንዘ<sup>7</sup>፡ ይኤዝዝ፡ ዳውሎስ፡ ወከመዝ፡ ደለምድ፡ ብዙ  
ኃን<sup>8</sup>፡ ካቦበ<sup>9</sup>፡ እለ፡ አምኑ፡ ወንድገም<sup>10</sup>፡ ለዝጎለም፡ ወተለዉ፡ ትእዛዝ<sup>11</sup>፡ እገ  
ዚአብሔር<sup>12</sup>፡ ወተለውዎ፡ ለዳውሎስ ፥ ወሰምዐት<sup>13</sup>፡ ብእሲት፡ እንተ፡ ስማ፡ ዲ  
ላገደ፡ ወለተ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ወንድገት<sup>14</sup>፡ ምታ፡ ወተለውት፡ ተገማጸ<sup>15</sup>፡ ዳውሎስ<sup>16</sup> ፥  
ወሰምዐ<sup>17</sup>፡ ምታ፡ ወነገሮ፡ ለንጉሥ፡ ወተቀበሉ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ለዳውሎስ፡ ወይዘሉ፡  
ናሁ፡ ትመርቦ፡ ለነ<sup>18</sup>፡ ድሉ፡ ሰብእ<sup>19</sup>፡ ወተገማጸ፡ ዚእክ፡ ድሉ<sup>18</sup>፡ ሰሚያሙ<sup>20</sup>፡  
ንድገ<sup>21</sup>፡ ለዝ፡ ጎለም<sup>22</sup>፡ ብእሲሂ፡ ናንድገ<sup>23</sup>፡ ብእሲት፡ ወብእሲት፡ ተንድገ<sup>24</sup>፡  
ምታ፡ ወይእክዚ<sup>25</sup>፡ ትተፈደይ፡ ድሉ፡ ዘገበርከ፡ ላቦለ፡ ጤቀላ<sup>26</sup>፡ ዝኩ<sup>27</sup> ፥ ወ  
እዘዘ፡ ይደይዎ፡ ውስተ፡ ሴት፡ ሞቅሕ፡ ለዳውሎስ፡ ወገብ፡ በከመ፡ እዘዘ<sup>28</sup>፡  
ንጉሥ ፥ ወነገዉ<sup>29</sup>፡ እንበላ<sup>30</sup>፡ ለዳውሎስ፡ በተያጥር<sup>31</sup>፡ ወነገውዎ፡ ለዝኩ<sup>32</sup>፡ ዘገ  
ወጀ<sup>33</sup>፡ በእመተ<sup>34</sup>፡ ኑኑ<sup>35</sup>፡ ወቆሙ<sup>36</sup>፡ መጠ፡ ፈረስ፡ ዝኩ<sup>37</sup>፡ ዘተረከበ<sup>38</sup>፡ ምስ  
ለ፡ ዳውሎስ፡ ለዝኩ<sup>39</sup>፡ ዘአብእ<sup>40</sup>፡ ዐቢየ<sup>41</sup>፡ ክርስቲያን<sup>42</sup> ፥ ወሰበ፡ አምጽእዎ፡ ለዝ  
ኩ፡ እንበላ፡ ወርእየ<sup>43</sup>፡ ንጉሥ፡ እንከረ<sup>44</sup>፡ እክሉ<sup>45</sup>፡ ወይዘ፡ ነጥኪ፡ ረከብ፡ የም፡  
ዘይበልዎ፡ ለዳውሎስ፡ ወእውፀእዎ፡ ለዳውሎስ፡ እምሴት፡ ሞቅሕ፡ ወወሰድዎ፡  
ውስተ፡ ተያጥር<sup>46</sup> ፥ ወእውፀእ<sup>47</sup>፡ ሉቲ<sup>48</sup>፡ ድጎራሁ፡ ለዳውሎስ፡ ዝኩ፡ እንበላ፡  
ወይመሥሉሙ<sup>49</sup>፡ ዘይበልዎ፡ ወይዘሉ፡ ድሉሙ፡ የምሰ፡ ረከበ<sup>50</sup>፡ ዳውሎስ<sup>51</sup>፡  
ዘይትፀቀሉ<sup>52</sup> ፥ ወሰፍሕ፡ እደዊሁ፡ ዳውሎስ፡ ወጸለየ፡ ዝኩሂ<sup>53</sup>፡ እንበላ፡ ጸለየ<sup>54</sup>፡  
ብድጎራሁ፡ ወሰገደ<sup>55</sup>፡ ዳውሎስ፡ ወሰገደ<sup>56</sup>፡ ዝኩሂ<sup>57</sup>፡ እንበላ፡ ምስሌሁ ፥ ወፈ

<sup>a</sup> MS. ክርስቲያን፡

<sup>b</sup> MS. ዝኩ፡ ሂ፡

<sup>1</sup> ሴትከመ፡ C. <sup>2</sup> ሀብ፡ C. <sup>3</sup> ለነዳዶን፡ BC፡ ወሰምስኪናን፡ add. C.  
<sup>4</sup> ማቅረርከ፡ B, ማቅረርከመ፡ C. <sup>5</sup> አብእ፡ C. <sup>6</sup> አምላክከመ፡ C. <sup>7</sup> ከነ፡ C.  
<sup>8</sup> ወ prae f. C. <sup>9</sup> ካቦበ፡ B, q. l.; om. C. <sup>10</sup> ወንድገም፡ BC. <sup>11</sup> ትእዛዝ  
ዘ፡ C. <sup>12</sup> ለ prae f. C. <sup>13</sup> ወሰምዓት፡ B, ወሰምዓት፡ C. <sup>14</sup> ወንድገት፡  
BC. <sup>15</sup> ትእዛዝ፡ C. <sup>16</sup> እገዚአብሔር፡ C. <sup>17</sup> ወሰምዓ፡ BC. <sup>18</sup> om. C.  
<sup>19</sup> ሰብእ፡ C. <sup>20</sup> ሰሚያ፡ C. <sup>21</sup> ኃድገም፡ B; ናንድገ፡ C, om. ለዝ. <sup>22</sup> ጎለ  
መ፡ C. <sup>23</sup> ናንድገ፡ BC. <sup>24</sup> ተንድገ፡ BC. <sup>25</sup> ናሁ፡ add. C. <sup>26</sup> ዲላ  
ገደ፡ C. <sup>27</sup> ዝኩ፡ B; C om. <sup>28</sup> እዘዘመ፡ C. <sup>29</sup> ወነገ፡ C. <sup>30</sup> ሁ affix. C.  
<sup>31</sup> ለ. በተያጥርን፡ <sup>32</sup> እንበላ፡ add. BC. <sup>33</sup> ዘገወዘ B; tr. ዘኑኑ፡ ገወጀ C.  
<sup>34</sup> om. C. <sup>35</sup> om. B man. prim.; suppl. corr. <sup>36</sup> ቆሙኒ፡ B. <sup>37</sup> እንበ  
ላ፡ add. C. <sup>38</sup> ዘተረከበ፡ BC, q. l. <sup>39</sup> ወዝኩ፡ B; ለ om. C. <sup>40</sup> ኃለ፡  
add. B; ውስተ፡ add. C. <sup>41</sup> ጎቢይ፡ BC. <sup>42</sup> ርእየ፡ B; ወርእየ፡ C, add.  
ዝኩ፡ <sup>43</sup> ወ prae f. C. <sup>44</sup> እክሉ፡ BC, q. l. <sup>45</sup> ተያጥርን፡ C, q. l.  
<sup>46</sup> ወእውፀእዎ፡ BC. <sup>47</sup> tr. ለዳውሎስ፡ ወእነተ፡ ድጎራሁ፡ እንበላ፡ B, om.  
ሉቲ፡; tr. ዘነተ፡ እንበላ፡ ድጎራሁ፡ ለዳውሎስ፡ C. <sup>48</sup> ወይመስሉሙ፡ BC,  
q. l. <sup>49</sup> ረከበ፡ C. <sup>50</sup> ለ prae f. C. <sup>51</sup> ዘይትፀቀሉ፡ B. <sup>52</sup> ሂ om B; tr.  
ወጸለየ፡ ካቦበ፡ ዝኩሂ፡ እንበላ፡ ብድጎራሁ፡ ምስሌሁ፡ C. <sup>53</sup> om. B. <sup>54</sup> ወሰ  
ገደ፡ . . . . ምስሌሁ ፥ om. C. <sup>55</sup> tr. ወዝኩሂ፡ እንበላ፡ በገደ፡ B.

ጸጥመ፡ አእኩተ<sup>1</sup>፡ ወጸል፡ ተመደጠ<sup>2</sup>፡ ጳውሎስ<sup>3</sup>፡ ወይዘሮ፡ ለአንሳ<sup>4</sup>፡ ሐዋ  
 ሳ<sup>5</sup>፡ ወይዘሮ፡ አንበሳ<sup>6</sup>፡ ለጳውሎስ<sup>7</sup>፡ ሐዋሳ<sup>8</sup>፡ አቡተ<sup>9</sup>፡ ሐዋሳ<sup>8</sup>፡ ወይዘሮ፡ ጳ  
 ውሎስ፡ ለአንበሳ፡ እፎ<sup>10</sup>፡ ከመ<sup>11</sup>፡ ተሰገርከ<sup>12</sup>፡ ዘመጠነ<sup>13</sup>፡ አክልከ<sup>14</sup>፡ ወይዘ  
 ሮ፡ አንበሳ<sup>15</sup>፡ ለጳውሎስ፡ አንተሂ<sup>16</sup>፡ ናሁ<sup>16</sup>፡ ተሰገርከ<sup>17</sup>፡ ወእምጽኡከ፡ ከመ፡  
 አነ፡ እብላዕከ፡ ኢያሌመ፡<sup>18</sup>፡ ከመ<sup>19</sup>፡ ንትከበር<sup>20</sup>፡ በበይናቲ<sup>21</sup>፡ ሀሎ፡ ለእከ<sup>22</sup>፡  
 እገዚእ<sup>23</sup>፡ ወሶበ፡ ረከብዎ<sup>23</sup>፡ እንዘ፡ ይትናገር፡ ምስለ፡ ጳውሎስ፡ አንከ፡ ዙሮ  
 መ<sup>23</sup>፡ ወይዘሮ<sup>24</sup>፡ ዐቢይ<sup>25</sup>፡ ሃይማኖቱ፡ ሰዝ፡ ብእሲ፡ አርዊ<sup>26</sup>፡ ዘገጽ<sup>27</sup>፡ ይ  
 ትኤዘዝ፡ ሎቱ፡ ወሕዝብ<sup>28</sup>፡ ይሰምዕዎ፡ ዘይዘ<sup>29</sup>፡ ወእንከሰ<sup>30</sup>፡ አንዘ፡ ለጳ  
 ላገደ፡ ወገደገዎ<sup>32</sup>፡ ኪያሁሰ፡ ይሖር<sup>33</sup>፡ ምስለ፡ አንበሳሁ<sup>34</sup>፡ ወወፅኤ<sup>35</sup>፡ ዘኩ<sup>36</sup>፡  
 አንበሳ<sup>37</sup>፡ ወጳውሎስ<sup>38</sup>፡ ወእምዝ፡ ይዘሮ<sup>39</sup>፡ ዙሮ<sup>40</sup>፡ ሀሎ፡ ላህም፡ ዘብርት፡ ወ  
 አርስኦ<sup>41</sup>፡ ኪያሁ፡ ወይዘሮ፡ ውስት፡ ውእቱ፡ ወእመ፡ አከ፡ ትትከነን፡ ለምታ<sup>42</sup>፡  
 ወትከን፡ ከመ፡ ሰብአ፡ ዓለም፡ ወእምጽኡሂ<sup>43</sup>፡ ዘኩ<sup>44</sup>፡ ላህም<sup>45</sup>፡ ዘብርት፡ ወ  
 አንዘ፡ ይደይዋ፡ ውስቱቱ፡ ወውእት<sup>46</sup>፡ ጊዜ፡ ዘንመ፡ ዝናም፡ ወአጥፍኦ<sup>47</sup>፡ ወ  
 ይእቲሰ፡ ጠብዓት<sup>48</sup>፡ ትባእ፡ ወሶበ፡ ርእየ፡ ዘኩ፡ ብእሲ፡ ጥብዓት<sup>49</sup>፡ ለባዊእ<sup>50</sup>፡  
 ነሥኦ<sup>51</sup>፡ ሰይፈ፡ ወወድቆ፡ ውስቱቱ<sup>52</sup>፡ በገጹ<sup>53</sup>፡ ወሞተ፡ እስመ፡ ንኩር<sup>54</sup>፡ ሥ  
 ና<sup>55</sup>፡ ለጳላገደ፡ ወኢርእየት<sup>56</sup>፡ ለሥና<sup>57</sup>፡ ወኢሐሰተ<sup>58</sup>፡ ለዘገለም<sup>59</sup>፡ ነላፈ<sup>60</sup>፡  
 ጸሎታ<sup>61</sup>፡ የሀሮ<sup>62</sup>፡ ምስለ፡ አቡተ<sup>63</sup>፡ ፍሐንስ፡ ወይረሲ፡ ክፍላ፡ መሐድረሁ<sup>64</sup>፡  
 ምስለ፡ ሰማዕት<sup>65</sup>፡ መዋእደን፡ አጫን<sup>66</sup>፡

<sup>1</sup> tr. ጸል፡ አእኩተ፡ C, w om. <sup>2</sup> w praef. C. <sup>3</sup> ሂ om. BC. <sup>4</sup> ለአን  
 በሳ፡ BC, q. l. <sup>5</sup> ሐዋሳ፡ BC. <sup>6</sup> ሂ om. BC; tr. ለጳውሎስ፡ አንበሳ፡ C. <sup>7</sup> ለ  
 om. C man. prim.; suppl. corr. <sup>8</sup> ሐዋሳ፡ BC. <sup>9</sup> አቡተ፡ C. <sup>10</sup> እፎ፡ C.  
<sup>11</sup> om. C. <sup>12</sup> ተሰገርከ፡ (q. l.) add. እንዘ፡ C. <sup>13</sup> ዘ om. C. <sup>14</sup> አክልከ፡ C,  
 q. l. <sup>15</sup> ሂ om. C. <sup>16</sup> om. C. <sup>17</sup> ተሰገርከ፡ C, q. l. <sup>18</sup> w praef. C. <sup>19</sup> አነ፡  
 ወአንተ፡ add. C. <sup>20</sup> ንትከበር፡ C; ንትከበር፡ ? B. <sup>21</sup> om. C. <sup>22</sup> ላእከ፡ B;  
 ላእከ፡ C, q. l. <sup>23</sup> አንበሳ፡ add. B. <sup>24</sup> ወይዘሮ፡ BC, q. l. <sup>25</sup> ዓቢይ፡ BC.  
<sup>26</sup> ሂ om. C. <sup>27</sup> ዘ praef. C, add. ይኤዘዝ፡ ወ <sup>28</sup> ፈ add. BC. <sup>29</sup> ወይዘሮ፡  
 C. <sup>30</sup> w om. C. <sup>31</sup> እምጽኡሂ፡ C. <sup>32</sup> ወገደገዎ፡ BC. <sup>33</sup> ይሖር፡ BC.  
<sup>34</sup> አንበሳሁ፡ ? C. <sup>35</sup> ወመጽኦ፡ C. <sup>36</sup> ዘኩሂ፡ BC. <sup>37</sup> om. C. <sup>38</sup> ሂ add.  
 BC. <sup>39</sup> ይዘሮ፡ C. <sup>40</sup> ዙሮመ፡ BC <sup>41</sup> ወደርስኦ፡ B. <sup>42</sup> ምስለ፡ pro ለ C.  
<sup>43</sup> ሂ om. BC. <sup>44</sup> ዘኩ፡ BC, q. l. <sup>45</sup> ላህመ፡ C, q. l. <sup>46</sup> w om. B. <sup>47</sup> ወአ  
 ጥፍኦ፡ B, ወአጥፍዎ፡ C. <sup>48</sup> አጥብዓት፡ C. <sup>49</sup> ጠብዓ፡ C. <sup>50</sup> ለባዊእ፡ BC,  
 q. l. <sup>51</sup> w praef. C. <sup>52</sup> ውእቱ፡ B. <sup>53</sup> በክሳዱ፡ B, በክብዱ፡ C. <sup>54</sup> ፍጡ  
 ር፡ B, ፍቁር፡ C <sup>55</sup> ስና፡ BC. <sup>56</sup> ወኢርእየት፡ C. <sup>57</sup> ለስና፡ BC. <sup>58</sup> ወኢ  
 ኃሰየት፡ B; ለ ወኢንሰየት፡ <sup>59</sup> ለዝ፡ ዓለም፡ BC. <sup>60</sup> ኃላፊ፡ BC. <sup>61</sup> ወበረ  
 ከታ፡ add. B; ወጸሎቱ፡ ለጳውሎስ፡ add. C. <sup>62</sup> የሃሮ፡ B, ትኩን፡ C. <sup>63</sup> ገብ  
 ራ፡ ወልደ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አጫን፡ B, pro አቡተ፡ . . . . አጫን፡  
 ነፍሰ፡ ፍቁርመ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ኢያሱ፡ ወወልዱ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ኢያሱ፡ ወእምመ፡ ን  
 ገሥት፡ ወሰተ፡ ጊዮርጊስ፡ (ወአመተመ፡ ወሰተ፡ ሥላሴ፡ add. corr.) ለዓለመ፡  
 ዓለም፡ አጫን፡ C, pro አቡተ፡ . . . . አጫን፡ <sup>64</sup> ለ መኃድሪሁ፡ <sup>65</sup> ለ ሰማዕ  
 ታት፡ <sup>66</sup> ለዘጸሐ፡ ወሰዘጸሐ፡ ለዘአንበሳ፡ ወሰዘተርገሞ፡ ጎሮረ፡ ይምሐ  
 ሮመ፡ እገዚአብሔር፡ በመንገዱት፡ ሰማደት፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ add. B.

## THE EPISTLE OF PELAGIA.

The Epistle of Pelagia. When Paul came to the region of Cæsarea, he taught again there also the way of the Lord, according to his custom always; and they, *even* every man of the city, who doubted and did not believe in law, because they were not of it, reviled Paul, and they took him and seized him, and put him in bonds, saying to him, Thou hast brought unto us a law that is not ours. And he said to them, But ye also were not born of old, *that ye should* judge me. But now, what man seeketh of old—doth he not seek what is right and good? As said the prophet David, Know ye, know ye, that I am, and there is no other Lord beside me, saith God.

Ask your fathers and they will tell you,  
and your elders and they will inform you,  
whether there was anyone before him who did a wonder,  
and whether there was after him a creator of the universe,  
and there is none beside him.

He is from before the world,  
and he is after the world.

He is of old also,  
and he is now,

and there is no god beside him;  
who spread out the heavens as a bowl,  
and will roll them up like a scroll;  
and everything decayeth and passeth away,  
but he is God,

and his years also fail not.

To him we will bow down,

and him we will praise,

and his might we will hallow,

and his name we will worship and we will bow down.

And then the judge wondered, and he despised him, and let him go.

And Paul departed toward the mountain. And as he walked there, Paul found a lion, and his height was twelve<sup>1</sup> cubits, and his size as that of a horse. And he met Paul, and they saluted each other as though they knew each other. And the lion said unto Paul, Well met, Paul, servant of God, and Apostle of the Lord Jesus Christ! I have one thing which I ask thee to do unto me. And Paul said unto him, Speak; I will hear. And the lion said, Make me to enter into the great things<sup>2</sup> of the Christians. And Paul took him and made him to enter into the great things of the Christians. And when he had finished the law of

<sup>1</sup> Nineteen, B.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps an error in translation lies back of this; e. g., confusion of the Coptic words for "baptism" and for "great, much." Cf. Jerome, *De vir. ill.* 7, "totam baptizati leonis fabulam," and Harnack, *Chronologie*, pp. 494, 495.

the seventh day, *then* they bade each other farewell.<sup>1</sup> And again Paul returned to the city.

And a certain man said to him, My brother, who is older than I, is dead; and come, make a prayer in my house. And then Paul went and found him that was dead, and he said, What aileth you? Do not weep, be silent. And Paul began to pray, and he said, My Lord Jesus Christ, who art not slow to do good, wherever they call upon thee, and name thee, thou art there, but there is not one that seeth thee, and that is able to see thee. For the sake of men shew thine eternal wonders, that man may not doubt and say, Where is this lord who is named the lover of men? Do thou, O Lord, give life to this man, for from thee is every gift; and even if that which thou hast given repent thee, do not take away the faith which thou hast given us. Give to this man faith, until thy power come again, *even* thy judgment which is not found vain. And he said, Thou man, arise. And he arose and regained consciousness<sup>2</sup> and many believed, and followed him saying, Teach us also a faith such that, when one asks, one makes the dead to arise and live. And he said to them, If ye have faith in your heart, as much as a mustard seed, then ye shall say to this mountain, Depart, and it will depart. See ye that faith saves in everything. And they said unto him, May we also hear it, we seek of thee. And he began to teach them; and he said to them, See Rahab the harlot, that by her faith she entered into the kingdom of heaven. And see that the three children were saved by their faith from the fire. See ye that by faith he saves. And by his faith Daniel was saved from the mouth of the lions. See ye Ezekiel the prophet; he was saved from the pit of clay. See Thekla, that by her faith she escaped from the fire and from the mouth of the lions. See Abraham, that for his faith God said to him, My friend. See Isaac, that by his faith he was saved from the sword and from the altar of sacrifice, and Isaac heard him who spoke. And see Joseph, that by his faith he escaped from the pit and from his brethren and from the hand of Pharaoh the king, and he became ruler. And why should I tell you of other prophets, and of our fathers also who pleased God? And see his brethren and his chosen ones; Elijah, who ascended alive into the heavens, and his creator made him ascend in a chariot of fire, with horses of fire drawing him at his command. And by his faith Elijah asked of God that it should not rain upon the earth three years and six months, and it was so. And see Elisha, who by his faith healed a leper, when he asked, and made the dead<sup>3</sup> also to live, and this also by entreating Jesus Christ. And now also my brethren, believe with all your heart and with all your strength and with all your soul, that Christ, God the Father and Son and Holy Spirit, is one God, and all that ye ask he will give you and do for you. But I say unto you, if ye believe that the Lord is God and do not do his will, your faith is vain; and what doth it profit to believe, if ye do not the will of him in whom ye have believed? Behold, see, the demons also believe that God is Lord, and do not do

<sup>1</sup> Lit., with the lion.

<sup>2</sup> Lit., knew.

<sup>3</sup> Pl.



his will. According therefore as they do not do his will and do not keep the commandment of God, they are vain. But if therefore ye believe that Christ is God, ye shall not steal, ye shall not commit adultery, and ye shall not worship idols, and ye shall not swear, and ye shall not covet your neighbor's substance; and honor thy father and thy mother, and fear God with all thy heart and with all thy strength and with all thy soul. Thou hast no other beside him, and he is thy creator and thy father's creator; besides Jesus thou hast no other god. And of the fruit of thy house give unto the poor; the first fruits of thy harvest bring to the house of the Lord thy God.

And while Paul was proclaiming this commandment and teaching thus, *there were* many moreover who believed and renounced this world and followed the commandment of the Lord, and they followed Paul. And a woman whose name was Pelagia, daughter of the king, heard, and she renounced her husband and followed the exhortation of Paul. And her husband heard, and he told the king. And the king met<sup>1</sup> Paul and said to him, Behold thou art corrupting for us all our people, and all, when they hear thine admonition, renounce the world. The husband also renounces his wife, and the wife also renounces her husband. And now also thou shalt pay for everything which thou hast done unto that Thekla.<sup>2</sup> And he commanded that they should cast Paul into prison; and they did as the king commanded. And they set a lion in ambush for Paul in the theater, and they set in ambush the one whose height was twelve<sup>3</sup> cubits, and his size as that of a horse, the one that had met Paul, that Paul had made to enter into the great things of the Christians. And when they brought this lion and the king saw him, he marveled at his size, and said, Come now, we have found this day one that will devour Paul. And they brought Paul from the prison, and they brought him into the theater. And after Paul they brought the lion in to him. And it seemed to them that he would devour him, and they all said, But this day hath Paul met that which will punish him. And Paul stretched forth his hands and prayed; the lion also prayed after him; and Paul worshiped and the lion also worshiped with him. And when they had finished glorifying and praying, Paul also turned and said to the lion, Well met!<sup>1</sup> and the lion also said to Paul, Well met,<sup>4</sup> our father! Well met!<sup>4</sup> And Paul said to the lion, How *is it* that thou wast caught, who art so great? And the lion also said unto Paul, Thou also, behold thou wast caught, and they brought thee that I might devour thee. Did they not know that we were dear to one another? We are servants<sup>5</sup> of our Lord. And after they had seen him talking with Paul, they all wondered and said, Great is the faith of this man; even the beast of the field obeys him, and the people hearken to him. And they said, Now take Pelagia, but let him go with his lion. And the lion and Paul departed. And then they said, everyone, There is the cow of brass; and kindle it, and let them cast her into it, or let her be obedient

<sup>1</sup> Or received.<sup>2</sup> Pelagia, C.<sup>3</sup> Nineteen, B.<sup>4</sup> Or, Well done! Wonderful!<sup>5</sup> Lit., a servant.

to her husband, and be like ordinary people. And they brought also the cow of brass, and they began to cast her into it. And at that moment there rained rain and extinguished it. But she wished to enter in. And when the husband saw her willingness to enter in, he took a sword and fell upon it on his face and died, because the beauty of Pelagia was wonderful, and she did not consider her beauty, and did not regard this passing world.

May her prayer be with our father John and prepare the portion of his habitations with the victorious martyrs. Amen.

## FOUR BABYLONIAN SEAL CYLINDERS.

BY IRA MAURICE PRICE,  
The University of Chicago.

### 1. A SEAL CYLINDER OF THE TIMES OF SIN-GASHID, ABOUT 2000 B. C.

A gentleman<sup>1</sup> in Pittsburgh, Pa., sent me a short time ago a cylinder seal<sup>2</sup> of unusual interest. He purchased it near ancient Thebes in Upper Egypt of an Arab chief who was wearing it as a talisman. Its material was banded agate, and it was about of the conventional size and form. The character of the material of which it had been made was a great hindrance to the reading of its surface figures. But a gutta percha impression quickly removed the difficulty. It brought out very distinctly two columns of inscriptions, each with five lines. But the first line of the second column was parallel with the third line of col. i, and thus the inscription closed two lines further around on the seal than the first column.

Just preceding the inscription and extending almost the full length of the seal stands a tall, spare human figure clad in a garment which reaches almost to his feet. It so hangs from his shoulders as to reveal two folds, and its lower border is decorated with an ornamented fringe. Upon his feet he wears long, pointed sandals. He has a long, straight, and sharply pointed beard. On his head there is a close-fitting cap; around the band there seems to be a slight thickening, or cushion. At the back of his head there is an abundance of hair, which does not fall on his neck, but having been cropped off stands out rather stiffly, about on a line parallel with his chin. He is holding up his right arm bent and extended somewhat from his body, with his hand open as if in some act of worship. On his wrist one can distinctly see a bracelet. His left hand, held just above his waist and close to his body, grips something that cannot be distinctly made out; it

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Edward Duff Balken.

<sup>2</sup> Since writing the above I have learned that Mr. Balken has generously given this valuable seal cylinder to the library of his alma mater, Princeton University.

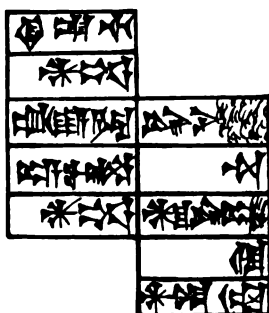
may be either a weapon or some implement of worship. Just in front of his uplifted hand and extending almost around the seal is the first column of the inscription. Beneath the first two lines of this column and exactly in front of the lower half of this figure, there is a lamb or sheep lying down facing the priest, if such he is, and beneath the lamb there are three small trees or plants. Just following the last line of col. i on the one side, and behind the head of the priest on the other, there is another animal, resembling an antelope, lying down, facing the priest. Just beneath this animal, occupying the same space as the trees under the lamb, are six of those peculiar diamond shaped figures, in two pairs, that are now and then found on seals.

The chief interest, however, in this seal cylinder attaches to its inscription. Its form and arrangement on the seal show that it was read not from left to right, as Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions of later periods, but from top to bottom. Its writing is that of archaic Babylonian, before the adoption of the complicated and artificial script of later times.



#### INSCRIPTION.

(Actual size.)



## TRANSCRIPTION.

COL. I.	COL. II.
Ki-kiṭ-ṭi	
(dingir) Marduk	
Um-mi-a-gar-ra	Amel . . . .
Apil A-pi-il	nitag
(dingir) Marduk	(dingir) Lugal-banda
	u
	(dingir) Nin-gul.

## TRANSLATION.

The charm of	
Marduk-	
Ummiagarra	who (is)
Son of Apil-	servant of
Marduk	the god Lugal-banda
	and
	the goddess Nin-gul.

The first line may also be read *ki-šit-ti*, "the property," or "possession."

But the most interesting portion of this little seal is found in its array of divinities. We find here both Marduk and the male divinity Lugal-banda with his consort Nin-gul. In an attempt to locate these divinities in time I find them mentioned together only in the dynasty of Erech (Uruk), and in the inscriptions of Sin-gashid, whose period of activity is located approximately at 2000 B. C.

We have two inscriptions of this ruler (published in *WAI.*, Vol. I, p. 3, No. VIII, 1 and 2). The most important facts for our use are found in the following extracts from a translation of each of them. In No. 1 we find these words: *Sin-gashid, son of Nin-gul* (the female deity mentioned on the seal), *king of Erech, builder of E-anna*. On No. 2 we have: *Sin-gashid, the valiant hero, king of Erech, king of Amnanu* (a district or province on the edge of Elam), *built the palace of his kingdom. To Lugal-banda his god, and to Nin-gul his mother, Sin-gashid, king of Erech, king of Amnanu, supporter of E-anna, after he had built E-anna, built the temple of Kankal, the dwelling-place of their joyful feast*. These extracts from two inscriptions give us the facts (1) that Sin-gashid called himself the son of Nin-gul,

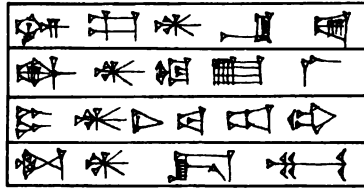
and (2) that he named Nin-gul his mother. One of them mentions Lugal-banda and Nin-gul side by side as the male divinity and his female consort. These facts would seem to warrant us in locating this seal with considerable degree of probability in the time of Sin-gashid of the dynasty of Erech (about 2000 B. C.), when and where these divinities occupied a prominent place in the life and worship of the Babylonians.

## 2. A SEAL CYLINDER OF A PAŠIŠU.

The pašišu was an official duly anointed and appointed and dedicated as a member of a class of priests or of magicians. He appears frequently in the bilingual texts that are found in *WAI.*, Vol. IV. In a series of supposed parallels in *WAI.*, Vol. V, 23, 51, *a, b, d*, we find as his equivalent the terms išippu, ašipu, and ramku. Through these parallel terms and the connections in which his name occurs, the pašišu was an official of varied duties. Zimmern (*Bab. Relig.*, p. 76) defines the ramku as the "Spendepriester," the alms distributor; and the ašipu (p. 67) as "Beschwörer;" and the root pašāšu (p. 224) as "sich salben." It is plain that he was occupied in the administration of sacred things and was devoted to the worship of special deities. As ramku and išippu he seems to have been engaged in some work of charity, whether in favor of the people or of his own class we are not informed.

A seal cylinder of one of these officials is a rarity. There is one, however, in the large collection of Dr. William Hayes Ward. It is executed on jade, and thirty-two millimeters long, and nineteen wide. The face of it is concave and carries on its surface three mythical figures and four lines of inscriptions. The figures according to Dr. Ward's interpretation are the goddess Ishtar standing erect and facing front with one foot on a dragon; in her right hand she holds up a Babylonian caduceus, and in her left hanging by her side she holds a serpent rod. From her shoulder rays shoot forth as from some brilliant object. On her right and facing her stands Ramman, who holds in his left hand, lifted to his waist, an instrument, possibly a cane. His chief garment hanging from his waist resembles a narrow apron tapering and ending at his knees. Behind him and facing in the same direction is a female figure, with both hands uplifted as if in the

act of worship. Her figure and dress differ very markedly from those of Ishtar. Though her head-dress is about of equal height, its make-up is on a different scale.



The four lines of inscription are executed in the script of Babylonia between 2500 and 2000 B. C. The characters are strong, definite, and well made.

#### TRANSLITERATION.

Im-gur dingir En-zu  
pašišu dingir Nin-lil-la(l)  
dumu dingir Ni-ba-ab-du  
arad dingir Da-mu.

#### TRANSLATION.

Imgur-Sin  
Pašišu of the goddess Belit  
Son of Ilu-ni-ba-ab-ru  
Servant of the goddess Ba-u.

We find that this pašišu as such devoted himself to the goddess Belit, the consort of her greater lord Bel. Belit had a temple at Nippur, and can be traced back to the first dynasty of Ur. The code of Hammurabi, in its conclusion, gives an idea of the relation of Belit to the great founder of the Babylonian empire in these words:

May Belit, the august mother, whose command is potent in E-kur, who looks with gracious favor upon my plans, in the place of judgment and decisions pervert his [the transgressor of Hammurabi's laws] words in the presence of Bel! May she put in the mouth of Bel, the king, the ruin of his [the transgressor's] land, the destruction of his people, and the pouring out of his life like water!

These words attribute to her more significance and influence than Jastrow (*Relig. Bab.-Assyr.*, p. 55) is inclined to give her.



These words of Hammurabi name Ekur as her place of power and influence, and from which she regarded with favor the plans of the monarch.

The father of this pašišu was a devotee of another goddess, Bau. She was pre-eminent in one division of Lagaš, viz., Uru-azagga. She was the consort of Ningirsu, and daughter of Anu. So that both our pašišu and his father were devoted to the service of female divinities whose headquarters were at centers in middle Babylonia—probably not later than 2400 B. C.

### 3. ANOTHER SEAL FROM SIN-GASHID'S DAY.

Some time ago Mr. W. Gedney Beatty of New York city sent me a wax impression of a hematite seal, containing four lines of inscription. Underneath these lines stand two mythical figures facing each other. The upper parts of their bodies, such as shoulders, arms, heads, and head-coverings prominently stand out in line and ball forms. Between them they hold a tall crooked instrument of some kind, the top of which seems to represent a serpent's head.



The inscription is written in the old Babylonian script of 2000 B. C., and probably belongs to that epoch. It reads:

Ba-ši-lugal-na-di  
 dumu (dingir) Gimil-ba-ru  
 nitag (dingir) Lugal-banda  
 u (dingir) Nin-gul-na

One thing to be observed is that the divinities named are the same as noted above in the Balken seal, probably dating from the time of Sin-gashid.

## 4. A GUDEA SEAL CYLINDER.

The accompanying cut represents a conventional cylinder of the times of Gudea, about 2800 B. C. Its inscription is presented in the script of the Gudean period and carries nothing of special importance, not hitherto published. The seal is in the admirable collection of Dr. William Hayes Ward.



# LIST OF SIGNS, NUMERALS, SCRIBAL ERRORS, AND ERASURES IN THE TEXT OF THE CODE OF HAMMURABI.

BY ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER,  
The University of Chicago.

The following Lists were promised in the October number of this JOURNAL. The List of Signs and Numerals was finished about November first, 1903, before the appearance of Ungnad's excellent article, "Zur Syntax der Gesetze Hammurabis," in the November (XVII, 4) number of *ZA*. The values of No. 84, *ku*, *kum*, *kum* (*cf.* Jensen, *KB*, III, pp. 111, 113 and Hunger, *Becherwahrsagung bei den Babyloniern*, p. 7), No. 137, *sa*, *za*, No. 148, *ud*, *ut*, *tam*, No. 194, *su*, *zum* (*cf.* Hunger, p. 7) had already been listed. I have, however, accepted two of Ungnad's suggestions, viz., the reading *wardu*, instead of *ardu*, on account of the occurrence of *wardutu*; and the substitution of *ar* for *ri* in 11, 34, *cf.* the List of Scribal Errors.

The values *maš* and *bar* are usually distinguished in the Code, *cf.* No. 34, and hence the reading E.UL.MAŠ is to be preferred to E.UL.BAR. For the reading E.MIŠ.MIŠ instead of E.DUP.DUP, *cf.* Nos. 65 and 66. Under No. 99, the value *i* should be added. Note the two forms of *e* listed in No. 121, and here E.NER.NU.GAL may be read E.GIŠ.ŠIR.GAL. The sign under No. 121, which has not been explained hitherto, has been made a *gunu* of No. 148, *cf.* List of Scribal Errors, 36, 89. In No. 142, ŠE.ZIR may be read *ziru* and ŠÀ.GAL in No. 150 *ukullu*. In No. 35 NU.TUR, as is well known, has the value *labuttu*; NU.IŠ.ŠAR has been read *amêlu urku* (Delitzsch), *zikaru-kirû* (Langdon), etc.; NU.TUK has the value *ekû*. These values will be noticed in the Glossary. No. 80 has been read incorrectly hitherto. It occurs twice and has the value *šêru*, flesh, 37, 32 and *šîru*, oracle, 43, 27.

In List II, 180 KA seems too large a number for the last sign. This is the usual reading, but IO KA would suit the context better in the law in which it occurs. Compare §§ 271 and 272: If a man hire oxen, a wagon, and a driver, he shall pay

180 KA of grain per day; If a man hire a wagon only, he shall pay 40 KA of grain per day. In § 268, we have: If a man hire an ox to thresh, 20 KA of grain is its hire.



























Lists III and IV are of necessity incomplete. One could easily be tempted to add other examples to those listed. The reading uḫ-tab-[bi]-it instead of uḫ-tab-da in two places may not commend itself. I am aware that in **38**, 82, gu-u is usually read for AMAT=gu, and that lu in **13**, 62 (la il-lu-u) is retained. In **32**, 80, ba is an unfinished zu. In List IV only the most important erasures have been given. The first column shows what was written originally, the second the sign as corrected, and the third the sign intended.

The Text of the Code was printed in the October (1903) number of this JOURNAL. Since then Ungnad's article on the Syntax of the Code has appeared in ZA., and I shall accept and incorporate in my text the following readings: šumma instead of aššum, which has been restored by all in **6**, 18, and this has led me to divide this section into two; it-te-[ip-ti], **15**, 14, instead of it-te-[ip-tu-u]; na-ak-ka-a[m-m]a instead of na-ak-ka-pu-u, **37**, 53; and mu-ša-zi-ḫam a ir-ši-a, **40**, 92, instead of MU.ŠA.ZI.KAR.IR.ŠI.A.

In February there will appear an edition of the Code, which will include an Autographed Text, Transliteration, Translation, Subject-Index, List of Proper Names, Glossary, List of Signs, Numerals, Scribal Errors and Erasures, Map, and two Photographs.

My pupil, Mr. A. H. Godbey, Fellow in Semitics in the University of Chicago, has autographed these Lists under my supervision.

## I. LIST OF SIGNS.


















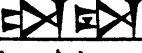





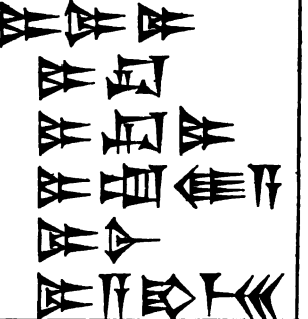




1			aš, dil
2			hal
3			ba
4			zu
5			apsû
6			su, mašku
7			kablu
8			palû
9			gir
10			GIR.NI
11			bur
			tar
			an, ilu, šamû

12			ka, pû suluppu
13			lišānu
14			KA(N)
15			er, alu
16			wardu
17			arhu
18			šahû
19			ebûru
20			la
21			APIN
22			mah
23			tu
24			li
25			mu, šattu
26			KA
27			KAD
28			ru
29			be, bat
30			na nâkidu
31			šir
32			zêru
33			ti

34			maš, par, bar muškēnu
35			nu NU, TUR. NU.kiř NU.MU.SU NU.PAR NU.TUK
36			laŕ
37			zibbatu
38			ĥu
39			nam
40			ik, ig, GAL
41			zi
42			gi
43			ri Nanâ, Iřtar
44			nun, rubŭ Eridu abkallu
45			tarbařu
46			kab
47			tim










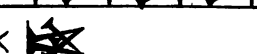
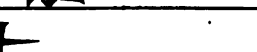












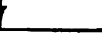



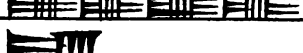

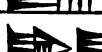

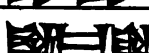









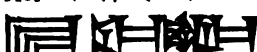

48			ag, ak AK.ŠU
49			en, bêlu Bêl Nippur Sin Ea
50			sa pasuttu
51			GAN GAN.E
52			tig, tik Kutha ašaridu biltu
53			dur Dûr-ilu
54			gur, GUR
55			si, karnu
56			dar
57			šag, sag šalmât gagadam
58			MA' malahu
































59			tab, tap
60			šum
61			ab, ap
62			ug, uk
63			az, aș
64			bâbu Babilu abullu
65			um, šid, miš rittu ummânu
66			dup, dub
67			ta
68			i
69			gan hegallu
70			mâru mâru mâr-ummâni mârtu mâr-ugarê
71			ad, at
72			și


















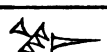
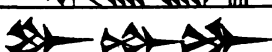
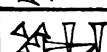
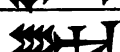
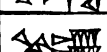
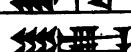










73			in
74			šarru
75			šar, sar
76			se
77			harrānu
78			gab
79			am
80			šêru, šîru
81			be, ne
82			bil
83			šîmu
84			ku, kum
85			URU Uruk
86			išdu
87			ur
88			il
89			du
90			tum, dum
91			imêru
92			uš, nit
93			iš
94			GEŠ, bi, kaz, šikaru karānu





















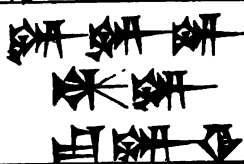





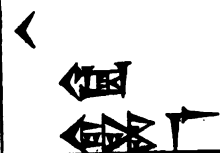
95			šim
96			kib
97			abnu
98			dá, kak
99			ni, li, šal ili šamnu šamnu
100			ir
101			mal, maḥ MAL.GE.A
102			ummu
103			kisallu
104			UR
105			tulû
106			pa, ḥat PA.PA
107			rø'u
108			iz, is, iṣ, GIŠ GIŠ.APIN GIŠ.APIN.TUK.KIN dippu GIŠ.GAN.UR hattu

		   	GIŠ.MAR.GID.DA kirû kussû kakku
109		      	GUD, alpu GUD, DA. UR. RA GUD.LID.UP.SAG
110			al
111		 	ub, up
112			mar
113			e
114		 	un, mât, kalâmu
115			kit, lil
116			u
117			luḥ
118			ga
119			ila
120		 	dan, kal lamassu
121		    	e, bîtu. E-apsû E.AN.NA Esagila Ezida













































































		            	E.MAH E.MIŠ.MIŠ kallātu ôkallu E.GAL.MAH E.KUR E.BABBAR E.UD.GAL.GAL E.UL.MAŠ E.NER.NU.GAL E.ME.TE.UR.SAG igaru E.50
122			gi, GE
123		 	ra
124		 	şalûlu
125			gunu of 
126		    	awîlu


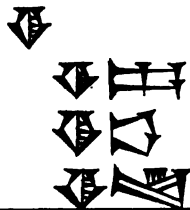





















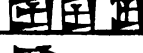



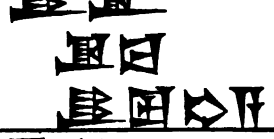


			agru nangaru
127			šiš Ur
128			gar, kar
129			id, it ašakku
130			da dāru
131			aš
132			ma lu MA.MA
133			gal ušumgallu
134			kir, piš
135			agû rid-šabê
136			pur
137			ša
138			šu gallabu

		   	šulubhu 60 puhru bā'iru
139			sa(g), za(g)
140			šalmu
141			mat, kur
142		     	še, še'u še'u ŠE.ZIR šamaššammu ŠE.GUR ašnan
143			bu, pu
144			uz
145			tir
146			te
147			kar, kâru
148		    	ud, ut., tam, ūmu. šamaš šamaš siparru Adab

			Larsa Sippara
149			wa, wi, wu, pi
150			lib eḫlu LIB. GAL LIB. GUD
151			uḫ
152			šābu
153			ḳinazu
154			ḫi
155			'a, 'i
156			aḫ, iḫ
157			kam, gam
158			im Adad Ḳarḳar
159			ḫar, mur Ḫarsag-kašāma
160			ZUN
161			Anunītu šamallu



162		        	LID alpê alpê
163		   	mi, GIG
164		   	gul, kul
165		   	nim Anu
166			lam
167		   	šur Marduk
168			bânû
169			ul
170		            	ner, kiš, šapu, kiššatu Nergal NER.SE.GA NER.PAD.DU
171		   	GIG kadištu
172		   	ši, lim, IGI, ʾnu igigallu
173		     	ar
174		   	u
175			di
176			tilu

177			ki, iršitu KI.KAL našpaku maḥḥuru
178			din, tin
179			hurāšu kaspu
180			eš
181			lal
182			
183			zar
184			me melammu
185			meš
186			ib, ip Hu Uraš (?)
187			ku, tuk
188			lu, immeru, šēnu
189			kin
190			šipātu šipātu šēnê
191			karû

192			Girsu
193			zinništu
			aššatu (?)
			aššat NIN.AN
			aššat E.GE.A
			ḫadištu
194			šu, zum
195			nin, bēltu
			ilu NIN.TU
			ilu Bēlit
			ilu NIN.A.ZU
			NIN.AN
			NIN.AN
196			dam, aššatu
			ilu Dam. GaI. Nun. Na
			tamkaru
197			amtu
198			gu
199			el
200			lum
201			libittu
202			ur
			ḫarradu
			nēšu

203			ekimmu
204		     	a, mû nâru nâru Purattu ugaru eklu Ašur
205		  	za <sup>11</sup> u ZA.MÁ.MÁ Aleppo
206			ha
207			ši(g), ši(n)
208			šiklu
209		 	ša bušu

## II. LIST OF NUMERALS.

1-6	
1-4	
1-3	
1-2	
1	
2	
2½	
3	
4	
5	
6	
8	

10	
10 KA	
12	
20	
20 KA	
30	
40 KA	
50	
50 KA	
60	
180 KA	

## III. LIST OF SCRIBAL ERRORS.

	FOR	READ
4 <sup>16</sup>		
6 <sup>30</sup>		
9 <sup>62</sup>		
11 <sup>34</sup>		
11 <sup>61</sup>		
11 <sup>86</sup>		
13 <sup>62</sup>		
16 <sup>51</sup>		
18 <sup>62</sup>		
26 <sup>1</sup>		
26 <sup>8</sup>		
27 <sup>31</sup>		
31 <sup>48</sup>		
31 <sup>79</sup>		
32 <sup>80</sup>		
33 <sup>56</sup>		
34 <sup>79</sup>		
34 <sup>92</sup>		
36 <sup>87</sup>		



## THE CHIROGRAPHY OF THE HAMMURABI CODE.

By A. H. GODBEY,

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An inspection of the photographs published by Scheil will satisfy anyone that the chirography as a whole is characterized by remarkable uniformity, and real elegance. A minute study will impress one with a few peculiarities which suggest that several different scribes have worked upon the stone. These peculiarities are of four kinds: (1) the existence of "joints" in the ruling of the stone; (2) the actual difference in form of certain characters; (3) the difference in heaviness of the writing in certain sections; and (4) the tendency of certain sections to slant to right or left. Of these four marks, the autographed text exhibits only the second. It will be generally recognized as impracticable to represent accurately, by mere autography, a minute difference in shading that extends through several columns, or a tendency of certain scribes to incline very slightly to right or left. The "joints," in the nature of the case, are discernible only upon scanning the block, or a photograph of it, as a whole.

An inspection of Scheil's plates will show that the aim of the scribes was to continue each horizontal ruling clear across the face of the stone, unless interrupted by a line occupying double-space, or by some defect in the stone. But as the double-spaces are quite numerous, occupying nearly one-fifth of the entire inscribed space, it was impracticable to cut all the horizontals ere beginning the inscription itself. Each scribe would, for the most part, cut the ruling as he needed it for the completion of his own work, since carrying it on into the next column was to risk an error. But when two scribes were working simultaneously upon a face of the stone, their horizontal rulings could not be expected to meet absolutely, even though all rulings should be in the beginning marked in color upon the face of the stone. Furthermore, the tendency to carry a horizontal line into the next column is apparent at such joints. In some places the ruling projects so far into the next column as to



mar the writing in that column. Now it seems a safe conclusion that such a line must have been cut before the cutting of the signs which it mars. It is hardly to be supposed that the scribe would deliberately begin in a space already inscribed, defacing the finished work for an inch or two, by a line intended for the column beyond it. It is understood that these extensions are into a double-space in the next column, where no ruling is needed.

Now these extensions, not numerous, and usually small, may be very significant. At certain joints the extensions are from a certain column into the next one on the right: at others, they extend into the column on the left. At one or two places the extensions lap. A most notable case of the last sort is to be observed upon the reverse, in the joint at cols. **36, 37**; and the ruling under **38**, 26 projects to the left, marring all of **37**, 26, and continuing slightly into col. **36**. From what has been said, it is clear that the right-hand column in such a case must have been cut first. That is, at such a place the ruling indicates that the scribe must have been working backward through the text from right to left so far as the columns were concerned, though he could cut each individual line from left to right. It is apparent at once that there is no difficulty whatever about cutting column **38** or **37** before **36**, if the scribe were merely copying another stone, column for column and line for line. In such a case the column-spaces could be measured off, colored rulings made upon the stone, and three or four scribes could work simultaneously upon a single face. The conclusion from the evidence of the ruling is, then, that the stone found at Susa is but a copy made from some other stone. The organization of the judiciary, of which we learn something in the official correspondence published by L. W. King, must have required a copy of the law in every court, and the exigencies of such organization must also have necessitated the multiplication of copies of the standard law of the realm with much greater rapidity than was possible to a single scribe working upon the stubborn diorite. We shall presently observe other possible evidences of such a method as we have considered.

It may seem that overmuch is made of these peculiarities in the ruling of the stone. It will be seen, however, that these "joints" in the work coincide with the evidence afforded by a

change in the form of certain signs and minute differences in shading and slant. When we note the concurrence of these peculiarities, we have fair grounds for concluding that several scribes worked upon the stone, though only the evidence of the ruling would indicate simultaneous work. The details of these joints will be briefly noticed when we consider the differences in forms of signs.

Further, these phenomena are entirely distinct from another sort which may readily be noticed. It would appear that Scheil's plates are made from photographs of a paper squeeze, and that this squeeze was made in small sections, which were afterwards joined together. The reader who has access to the photographs can readily locate what I take to be the points of juncture.

So far, we have observed how the double space required by a long word or phrase prevents absolute uniformity in the ruling. Upon the obverse of the stone no other factor interferes. Not so upon the reverse. The photographs here show a number of curious wedged-shaped spaces, with new rulings beginning at different places, and continuing across the stone. An examination of the photographs suggests that the reverse of the stone is not a single plane surface. About fifteen inches from the top of the inscription, if we may approximate from the data published by Scheil, the stone slopes backward sharply at the upper left corner. The reader can grasp the idea at once by breaking a common card backward at the upper left corner. An effort to rule the stone horizontally then produces wedge-shaped spaces at the junction of the upper facet with the main face of the stone. At the bottom of the reverse is apparently another such backward slant of the stone. The length of the inscribed portion of it increases gradually from left to right. Apart from this failure to cut the face of the stone down to a perfect plane are inscribing the code upon it, we may notice, as compared with the obverse, a rather larger proportion of small holes in the stone, that interfere occasionally with the symmetry of the text, and are actually responsible for one or two small errors.

Another peculiar feature of the inscription upon the reverse is the very crowded condition of the text upon the lower facet. This facet begins about seventy lines from the top. The average number of characters in a single-space line (averaging the whole inscription) is about four and one-half. But in this densely

packed section we find occasionally even nine or ten characters in a single-space line. The reader may perceive this at a glance, if he will refer to the autographed text, comparing, for instance, the ends of **38**, **39**, or **40** with the earlier portions of the same columns. Further, the spaces in which these crowded lines are written are often narrower. This crowding cannot find a satisfactory explanation in the popular notion that everyone has a tendency to write more compactly at the bottom of a page, for the tendency is conspicuously absent upon the obverse. And in this crowded portion of the reverse the chirography seems to differ from that in the upper part of the same columns. It is further to be remarked that three-fourths of all the errors or defects in writing occur in these crowded lines. Two-thirds of all the defects may be found in the ends of columns **33-39**. The reader may be able to pick out in this crowded section lines that would have been divided into two lines in the upper part of the same column. A considerable number of them would have been allowed at least a double-space. (Cf. **34**, 93, 94, with **33**, 64, 65, or **36**, 60, 61.) We must notice also that there is constant predetermination everywhere of the space to be allotted to each sign. That is, if there are to be six characters in a line, we do not find that four of them are allowed ample space, while the last two are greatly cramped or condensed. On the contrary, the space is equably distributed. This fact is especially significant when eight or nine characters must be cut in the space usually allotted to four or five. Grouping these features with what has already been suggested as to copying the Code from another stone, we may surmise that when the columns had been inscribed down to the beginning of the lower slant, this last surface proved too short for the remaining portion, so that lines were made narrower, many double-spaced lines were condensed into single spaces, or occasionally two lines made into one. One case will be quoted later; the reader may observe several probable instances. And as the chirography of these lower ends has points of difference from that above, it is possible that two sets of scribes could have worked simultaneously, one upon a platform over the other.

How this crowding may operate to multiply errors may be illustrated in col. **34**. In the eighty-seventh line, allowed but a single space, we have eight characters: i-pu-uš-ma uš-ta-mi-it. In the autographed text I have not exactly represented

this line. The scribe left a distinct space between the last two signs, which I did not do. His result was that the head of the small oblique wedge of the *it* practically touches the inner vertical at its left. There is thus no room left to cut the small *še* that distinguishes *id* from *da*. The scribe depended upon the intelligence of the reader to read the sign as it should be. In my autographing I took the small space between the last two characters, assigning it to the last one, thus gaining room to write a very small *še* in the *da*. The same thing occurs in **38**, 78, in the double-line, (a) u lu UR.MAH id-du-uk (b) re'um ma-*ḥ*ar ilim. This double-line is crowded into a space narrower than that allotted to some single ones. Part (a) has seven characters so that *id* is treated as above. It is actually *da*. The *ilim* in (b) projects upward into the space that should be occupied by the tiny *ud* of the *uk* above; while the cramped *ḥ*ar is allowed to pass as a seeming *ḥi*. In spite of these things no one would fail to understand the line. The sign *uk* is treated the same way, for illustration, in **36**, 77, where the *tim* below reaches into the space needed to complete the *uk*. I may remark that the frequency of the omission of the small signs distinguishing *az* and *uk* suggests that they may not have been originally part of the signs, but were later additions to differentiate signs that had become similar. (The shifting forms of *ṭu* (*šiklu*), *id*, *da*, and *mir*, suggest that they may have had a similar history. The *ṭu* in **35**, 61 seems to have a *gunu* attached to the top. Note the variations of *mir* in the sign-list.) In **33**, 76, 89, 93, we find the scribe, when desiring to distinguish *id* from *da*, in a crowded line, contenting himself by drawing three or four vertical scratches in place of the carefully cut *še*, that would have required more room. The same thing was done in **15**, 55. In **36**, 87 the signs *id* and *da* appear in the photograph to have been exchanged. The line ID.GUD.DA.UR.RA actually is, in the plate, DA.GUD.ID.UR.RA. Whether any attempt was made to erase the small *še* in the third character is doubtful. There are other cases of *da* for *id* by this scribe; but these suffice for illustration.

Very closely connected, perhaps, with this uncertainty in the case of *id* and *da*, is the shifting of forms of *ṭu* (*šiklu*) and *mir*. The latter occurs but a few times in the inscription, and presents a new form in nearly every case. A glance at the six

forms in the sign-list will show the reader that the "main frame" of the *mir* is identical with that of the *tu*. The variant forms are produced by a shifting of the *gunu*. And it is a matter of peculiar interest that three of these six forms have two *gunus* each. A reason for this may be seen by inspecting the *tu* in **35**, **61**, where an unmistakable *gunu* is attached to the upper bar. But this leaves the *tu* identical in form with two types of the *mir*. Such a form of *tu* must have been well known, to produce so much shifting of the *mir*, with a double *gunu*. When we consider also the later Assyrian shekel sign, we observe that it has more strokes than belong to the simple *tu* of this inscription; and as the Assyrian often diminishes the number of strokes in the older characters, we are given some grounds for suspecting that this *gunu* form of the simple *tu* is the one from which the Assyrian *tu* is derived. This impression becomes the stronger, when we observe that in the Assyrian the *tu* and the *mir* differ only in the fact that the latter has a *gunu* at the left; just the difference between the *agû* of **43**, **45**, and the *šiklu* of **35**, **61**. Perhaps *tu*, *id*, and *da* are derived originally from the same character, with the special significance of "measure," and with subsequent modifications to distinguish different kinds of measures. For *tu* stands as a measure of weight, or monetary values; in combination with two other signs, it becomes a reed, one of the Babylonian measures of length. *Id*, which = *da* + *še*, appears as a measure of value, or hire, probably a mere measure of grain at first, as wages are often estimated in grain. We observe again that both *mir* and *da* stand for the ideas of "mighty," "powerful;" while *id* and *da* may signify also "the hand." We have here then the basis of the group, the hand being both a symbol of power and a unit of measure of length. Again, the *mir* is given almost exactly the form of *da*, Neb. II, **1**, **37**. Now referring to the "Stele des Vantours," A, **2**, **5**, etc., the crude *da* there is at once recognizable as the rough outline of a forearm and outspread hand, while *šu* "hand," is without the forearm. The use of *id*, then, to express "hire" or wages, would be derived from the idea of the hand grasping or receiving grain. The double *gunu* of the *mir* in our text then emphasizes its idea of power or majesty. There would appear then to be a real basis in the original ideas for the confusion of these signs. We may remark that in the

Egyptian we have some weights and measures of the same name and quantity as the Babylonian ones, while the forearm and hand is the regular symbol of might or power, continually recurring in the rehearsal of royal attributes. But we may not here follow up this line of comparison.

Further, in examining the different forms of these signs, we observe how very easy it was for the scribe to write *id* for *gab* in **34**, 79. Both *id* and *da* occur repeatedly in other texts with the small oblique wedge at the right terminating the upper horizontal bar instead of the lower one. But this would leave the outline practically identical with the *gab* as regularly written in this text.

Possibly there is an effort to differentiate different forms from the same sign in the case of *gul*. This sign occurs but four times in the text: as *gul* in **42**, 5, 22: as *kul*, with a different form, in **43**, 19, and under a still more different form in **39**, 29, in the *awilum* KUL. This last form is practically identical with Gudea, B, 7, 57. And the shifting of the *gunu* which we have just been noticing suggests that we should not overlook the rare *gunu* of UD, in **36**, 89, while in **43**, 24, the *gunu* is not discernible, so that the sign appears as DU instead of *išdu*, which other texts would lead us to expect.

Recurring to the way in which overcrowding or a defect in the stone may lead to an apparent error in the text, an excellent illustration may be obtained by comparing **33**, 47, 55, 61, **34**, 82, 92, and **37**, 24. Here we have in each case the loss of an eye discussed. In four of the places, the characters *uḫ-tab-bi-it* form a line to themselves. In **37**, 24, "his eye" is crowded into the same single-space line; the ideogram is used, and *bi* dropped out—an abbreviation in spelling not uncommon in the text. The line then reads: ŠI-šu *uḫ-tab-it*. Scheil reads the last sign *da*. But despite a heavy scratch partially defacing the line, I think the small *še* of the *id* is clearly discernible. It is different in **34**, 92. Here the ideogram was not used. We have the spelling *i-in-šu* instead. Observe that *in*, as also *uḫ*, requires as much space as two average signs, so that the characters *i-in-šu uḫ-tab-it* would require the space of eight common signs. We observe further that a hole in the line, between *in* and *šu*, occupies space enough for one sign. The scribe thus cramped left the final character like the defective *id* cited

above, there being not room enough left within it for the ordinary še. We may then be justified in thinking that the intended reading is uḫ-tab-it, not uḫ-tab-da, as Scheil reads. A further indication for this is the comparative indifference of this particular scribe to some small inner wedges. The small inner vertical of in is omitted in this very line; also in lines 81 and 63 above, perhaps in 73, and in ni in lines 57, 61. In the autographing these wedges were restored, but I do not think the scribe here ever cut them.

Besides peculiarities of this sort, we may observe a number of recognized errors, which the scribes have corrected. In **1**, 59 the writer of Dur-ilu perhaps first wrote gar, then partially erasing, made dur out of the gar. In **39**, 70 ir was written instead of kak, and a feeble attempt at erasure of the small verticals was made. In **33**, 54, 56, ni was written instead of kak, and the incomplete erasure leaves the extra wedge still visible. In **35**, 70, lu was written in place of ku, the extra wedge is partially erased. In **36**, 63 the scribe wrote "boat" when "boatman" was required; the GIŠ.MÁ is corrected to MÁ.DU.DU. In **38**, 30 the ideogram for "horn" was given two inner verticals instead of one; one is partially erased. In the same line the bi was first omitted: the ir being made long enough to occupy the remaining space. The error was discovered and the bi written over the end of the ir, a new short ir following over the other end of the original ir. Notice that it was only six lines above that bi was omitted from uḫ-tab-bi-it. Two lines below, in **37**, 32, 33, we have the syllable sa so closely connected with a tapering vertical blot at the end, that it suggests the possibility of these characters having been carelessly written bit at first, and afterwards corrected by marking the final vertical wedge. About this case the photograph does not permit one to be dogmatic. In **39**, 15 is a very nice case of correction, the scribe first writing ḫa-am-ši-im, then correcting the "fifth" to "sixth" by defacing ḫa-am, and writing ši over the am. In **42**, 36 ir-ri-šum was first written; then the final character amended to tim. In **37**, 16 e-mi-e was similarly corrected to e-mi-šu. The most significant case of all is in **42**, 19. Here the scribe seems to have omitted the line entirely, and written the next one in its place. The error was discovered ere proceeding further, and the line corrected to

a-wa-ti-i a, instead of ša i-na na-ru-i-a. The final characters required no change: the blurred ru is still discernible: the second na needed little change to make a ti; the first is not totally obliterated, though not legible; the end-wedge of ša is almost untouched, while traces of its initial-wedges can be discerned. It is clear that an error of this sort is most probable when the scribe is copying another inscription, line for line. At the end of **43** we find li-te-ir; it is repeated in the first line of **44**; the only case in the inscription. The scribe has not thought it worth while to erase either of them. Effort was made in autographing the text to illustrate each of these erasures, so far as traces were visible, except in the case of Dur-ilu.

Another type of error occurs in the ruling. Line **20**, 71 should have had a double-space. Running the ruled line through divides a word, thus:

u lu i-na na-ba-  
al-ka-at-tim.

In **39**, 62 is a similar case. Probably we have here, in this dense packing, an effort to crowd three lines into two, after the rulings were drawn. The present division is,

bi-en-ni e-li-šu  
im-ta-ku-ut, a-na na-di-na-  
ni-šu u-ta-ar-ma.

The original must have been,

bi-en-ni e-li-šu  
im-ta-ku-ut,  
a-na na-di-na-ni-šu  
u-ta-ar-ma.

In contrast with this superfluous ruling may be noticed the omission of ruling between **25**, 66, 67, so that a new section of law begins in (b) of a double space, as though it were but part of the preceding phrase or word. The same thing appears to me to have occurred in **34**, 94-95 (the column-end already noted as full of small errors), though in autographing the text it was treated as though the ruling were perfect.

In the sign-list, effort has been made to suggest some of the chirographical peculiarities, not necessarily listing every minute variation in form. It is apparent at once that the majority of the 235 signs in the code show no essential variations. About



fifty show some slight changes. Many of these turn merely upon the length of some small wedge, or its absence. Thus, in the small group that forms the left of *al*, *šum*, *il*, *ur*, *ad*, *ši*, or *tum*, one scribe may habitually omit the tiny vertical; another may use it, always ending in the lower parallel; a third may regularly carry it through the parallel. It would be tedious to enumerate the tastes of each scribe in regard to each sign. The first style in the sign-list is generally the prevailing one. *Ra*, *tim*, and *ak* have the largest number of variations. Not all of *tim* and *ak* are illustrated in the sign-list. The main elements are shown.

Scribal tastes are most pronounced in the case of *mu*, *ik*, *ak*, *ri*, *ar*, *tim*, *šum*, *uš*, *ra*, *ma*, *mir*, *im*, *u*, *lum*, *ma*, *il*. The following suggestions as to different scribes may serve as a basis for more minute study of the chirography. The figure after a syllable indicates the number of its style in the sign-list:

Scribe A: obverse, **1-11**. Uses in for *ina*, **1**, 15, 18, **4**, 13, 16, 39; *u* (and) for syllabic *u*, **1**, 15, **2**, 15; *šig* for *ši*, **1**, 12, **4**, 45; *šag* for *sa*, **2**, 50. Characters heavy, vertical, occasional minute inclination to left. Heads of horizontal wedges, especially if in groups of four (as in *ga*), apt to be crescent-shaped. Prefers *mu*<sup>1</sup>, *ak*<sup>1</sup>, *ra*<sup>1</sup>, *bu*<sup>2</sup>, *tim*<sup>5</sup>, *il*<sup>1,5</sup>, *šum*<sup>1</sup>, *ad*<sup>1</sup>, *ši*<sup>2</sup>, *ru*<sup>1</sup>, *eš*<sup>2</sup>, *ri*<sup>1</sup>, *ar*<sup>1</sup>, *uš*<sup>2</sup>, *ma*<sup>1</sup>, *im*<sup>2</sup>, *u*<sup>1</sup>, *ik*<sup>1</sup>, *ak*<sup>1</sup>, *lum*<sup>1,2</sup>. Absence of peculiar syllables in code suggests a new scribe may have begun there; but there is scarcely any change in forms.

B. **11-16**. About the middle of **11**, the ruling is broken, and is not continuous with that in **10**; some ends project into **12**; two or three toward bottom of **12** project into it. Characters heavy and stout as in A; vertical, or minutely slanted to right; preferences in style indicate a frequent effort to save strokes. Uses syllable *dar*. Preferences: *eḵlu*<sup>2</sup>, *u*<sup>2</sup>, *ma*<sup>2</sup>, *ik*<sup>2</sup>, *mu*<sup>2</sup>, *ak*<sup>3</sup>, *lu*<sup>2</sup>, *uš*<sup>3,4</sup>, *tim*<sup>4</sup>, *ri*<sup>3,4</sup>. Ruling is jointed at **14-15**; but not enough change in style to indicate a new scribe. *Lu*<sup>3</sup> and *šar*<sup>2</sup>, are only distinctions. The scribe probably laid off his work in two sections.

C. Reverse: **17-18**? Wedges more slender, appearing taller; heads larger, with marked tendency to crescent shape; *šum*, *ad*, *im*, *il*, etc., often without the small vertical at the left: bars of *mu* short and heavy, end bar of *ik* very short.

Slant to right quite common. Line 17, 18, seems to use junction of facets as a ruling. Preferences, except for above differences, much like A's. Perhaps only a section of the next.

D. Joint between 18-19: ruling under 19, 20, 22, 33, 37, 42, 47, projects considerably into 18, at the left. None from 18 to the right. Lines 20, 15, 21, 19, seem to use junction of facets as ruling. Wedges generally heavy, resembling A, except that heads average larger, with more tendency to crescent form. A small section of about twenty lines' length, beginning about the 11th, in two or three columns, suggests C. C probably inscribes the lower slant of the reverse for several columns.

E: 25-29. Probably begins about middle of 25. The tendency to large crescent-shaped heads disappears. Heads often very small. Characters are more slender than in C, whom they recall at first glance. All signs with more than one main vertical, such as ri, hu, uz, ar, tend to have these of equal height; end bar of ik also taller; likewise bars of mu. Sides of wedges appear curved in many places. Small vertical wedges in the left of im, ad, šum, il, etc., not regularly inserted. Uses šim; elsewhere šī-im is the custom.

F: 29-34. In 30, 10, 11, 17, 46, rulings of 29 project; rulings of 9, 53, 56, 65, project into 29. Style rather recalls B. Small verticals in uš go through the horizontal; similar tendency in other signs; upper small wedge of ru either absent or a variable scratch; uses tur instead of tu-ur. Nu slanted sharply to right in a number of places. Perpendicularity not well preserved; often slants to right or left. Preferences recall B. Notice ru<sup>2,5</sup>, ma<sup>2</sup>. m̄aru<sup>1</sup>, ku<sup>5</sup>, lu<sup>3</sup>. Small errors begin to be very numerous in the crowded bottoms of these columns. Probably begins about middle of 29.

G: 35-37? Upper and lower wedges in all parallel fours (*e. g.*, ga, lum, mi, etc.) decidedly heavier than central ones; heads of them prominent. Lum and mi, like A or D, emphasize the distinct character of the sets of wedges composing them. Middle four in lum tend to slant; left four nearer vertical than before. Cf. 35, 45, or 36, 27, with 32, 65, 75. Ak<sup>1</sup>, ik<sup>1</sup>, ma<sup>1</sup>, ku<sup>5</sup>; and shorter bars in gi, zi, ri, ar, etc., make a further distinction from preceding. Section of slender work at top suggests E.

**H: 37–40.** The most marked prolongation of misruling occurs here, as already mentioned, from **38**, 26, marring all of **37**, 26, and reaching into **36**. Lapping projections: four or five from **37** to left, two or three from **36** to the right. Peculiar writing of lum, mi, etc., like the last, but more pronounced; uses syllabic value kaz, for sign bi, with peculiar form, **38**, 83; two right-hand wedges of i in line with upper and lower left; new type of sum, ik; u and ak like B; small verticals in ad, uš, tum, šum, etc., quite prominent, and go through horizontal to lower line; characters heavier than for some columns preceding; secondary verticals in hu, ri, ar, shorter again. Šum<sup>3,4</sup>, ik<sup>3</sup>, ak<sup>4,5</sup>, tum<sup>4</sup>, eš<sup>3</sup>, bi, kaz<sup>2,3</sup>, ma<sup>1,2</sup>, u<sup>2</sup>, mu<sup>1</sup>, im<sup>2</sup>, ri<sup>2</sup>.

**I: 41–44.** Ruling of **41** hardly matches that in **40** anywhere; most decided joint in the inscription, though without projections. Style suggests B. Several new syllables or values; gul, kul, šun, zar, širu, dur, dar, piš, dum, mur. Mu<sup>3,4</sup> (the last new), ub<sup>2</sup> (new), ma<sup>1</sup>, u<sup>1</sup>, im<sup>1</sup>, ak<sup>1,2,4</sup>, ru<sup>2,3</sup>, šum<sup>1,2</sup>, gan<sup>2</sup>. Does not maintain last scribe's habit of carrying small verticals through the lower parallel, in ad, šum, etc. All verticals of ri, hu, ar, usually of equal height. Vertical bars of im, gi, zi, rather taller. Much leaning to right.

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MOSES' SONG OF TRIUMPH.\*

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On Dec. 16<sup>th</sup> 1903 the daily papers published a cablegram from St. Petersburg, stating that the Sea of Azov was disappearing. At Taganrog, near the mouth of the Don, which next to Odessa was the leading seaport in southern Russia, the waters are said to have receded to such an extent that the bed of the sea is visible for several versts. Vessels are lying high and dry, and the greatest confusion prevails in the harbor. During the storm which raged in Baltimore on Oct. 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> 1903 the greater part of the water was driven out of the upper harbor by the tremendous wind; in spite of the almost phenomenal rainfall many vessels were resting on the bottom. In my paper on *Archæology and Mineralogy* (read at the general meeting of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, April 2, 1903)<sup>1</sup> I mentioned the fact that Major-General Tulloch observed that under a strong east wind the shallow waters of Lake Menzaleh, at the northern entrance to the Suez Canal receded for a distance of seven miles. There is therefore no reason for doubting the historical character of the passage through the Red Sea. Some Israelites may have crossed the former northern end of the Gulf of Suez south of Lake Timsah which was still connected at that time with the Bitter Lakes south of it; but when the Egyptians

\*Read at the meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, New York, Dec. 31, 1903. For the abbreviations used in this paper see my *Book of Canticles* (Chicago, 1902) p. 17 = vol. 18, p. 207 of this JOURNAL.

tried to follow them, the wind shifted, and the flood, which had been driven away by a strong east wind, or rather southeast wind, came back so that, as we read in Exod. 15, 1. 21, horses and chariots were plunged in the sea.

In note 17 to the abstract of my paper on Archæology and Mineralogy<sup>1</sup> I have stated that the late psalm, which is given in the Biblical narrative of the passage through the Red Sea as Moses' Song of Triumph, falls into three sections; each section comprises three stanzas; each stanza consists of two couplets of two מַשְׁלִיִּם, i. e. double-hemistichs;\* each hemistich contains two beats. This is the same meter which we find e. g. in  $\psi\psi$  1. 4. 16. 137, &c. and in Isaiah's Parable of the Vineyard.<sup>2</sup>

According to Keil<sup>3</sup> and Dillmann,<sup>4</sup> whose arrangement of the poem has been adopted by Holzinger<sup>5</sup> and Bæntsch<sup>6</sup> in their new commentaries on Exodus, published in 1900,<sup>7</sup> this triumphal ode consists of three sections, preceded by an introductory stanza (v. 1<sup>b</sup>) and a concluding verse (v. 18)<sup>8</sup> viz. i: vv. 2-5 (6 lines); —ii: 6-10 (12 lines); —iii: 11-17 (18 lines). Dillmann thinks that the lines of the first section have five (3+2) beats,<sup>9</sup> while the other two sections as well as the introductory and the concluding lines have four (2+2) beats. These statements are repeated, without any modifications, in the new edition of Dillmann's commentary edited by Ryssel (Leipzig, 1897). According to Strack<sup>10</sup> the first stanza (vv. 2-5) consists of 6 lines, each containing five or six words; the second stanza (vv. 6-10) consists of 12 lines, each containing four words; the third (vv. 11-17) consists of 18 lines the majority of which contain four words. It is hardly necessary to add that the number of words is entirely irrelevant; the meter depends on the number of beats, not on the number of words. The time of a musical bar remains the same, no matter whether it consists of 2 half-notes, or 4 quarter-notes, or 64 sixty-fourth notes, &c. The 'impressive brevity' of v. 14<sup>a</sup> is according to Strack (*op. cit.*, p. 210, note x) an intentional departure from the metrical scheme.

A division into three sections (vv. 1-3; 4-11; 12-18) was also advocated, as early as 1857, by the author of the first edition of Dillmann's commentary on Exodus and Leviticus,

\* Budde's objections to my explanation of the term מַשְׁלִיִּם, in *Theol. Literatur-Zeitung*, Jan. 28, 1904, col. 42, are not valid; cf. Delitzsch, HW 431<sup>b</sup>, AL<sup>1</sup> 175<sup>a</sup>. Heb. מַשְׁלִיִּם cannot denote a verse of three hemistichs, but only one of two equal parts or halves. See also Guyard, *Notes de lexicographie assyrienne* (Paris, 1878) § 78.

August Knobel. Ewald,<sup>11</sup> on the other hand, arranged the verses in four<sup>12</sup> groups (1-5; 6-10; 11-13; 14-17);<sup>13</sup> and Ley,<sup>14</sup> in five (2-5; 6-8; 9-11; 12-15; 16-18). Ernst Meier<sup>15</sup> gave a translation of this ode in six stanzas, each containing 12 lines; but his stichic arrangement is rather peculiar: *e. g.* v. 17 is printed in 10 lines! Bickell<sup>16</sup> arranges this song in eight stanzas, each stanza comprising six hemistichs; the first two hemistichs, Bickell thinks, were repeated at the end of each stanza as refrain. According to Reuss<sup>17</sup> this poem consists of 10 six-line stanzas with a brief introductory psalm and a concluding verse. Perles<sup>18</sup> divided the text into three stanzas (1-6; 7-11; 12-16) and a concluding tetrastich (vv. 17, 18), each stanza consisting of 10+2 lines; but as Bæntsch remarks (p. 130), vv. 6 and 7 cannot be assigned to different stanzas. Nor is it necessary to suppose that this psalm was intended for different choirs (so Zenner<sup>19</sup> and Perles<sup>18</sup>). In Kautzsch's *Textbibel* (1899) there is but one blank line in the whole poem, *viz.* before v. 6; in the Revised Version there is no break at all.<sup>20</sup>

Nor is there any sectional division in Sievers'<sup>21</sup> arrangement of this poem. The blank lines before vv. 3 and 9 are due to typographical awkwardness.\* Sievers thinks, however, that vv. 1-13 may be old, while vv. 14-18 may have been added by a later writer (*cf.* Bæntsch, *op. cit.*, p. lxi). According to Sievers the majority of the hemistichs in vv. 14-17 seem to have had originally three† beats. In v. 17 Sievers cancels וְהַשְׁמַעְתִּי and יְדוּרָה at the end of the second line. He is also inclined to eliminate וְשָׁפַר and כְּאֵבֶן at the end of the two double-hemistichs of v. 16, and אֲדֹנָי in the last but one line of this psalm. These excisions, however, are gratuitous. I believe, with Cornill,<sup>22</sup> that the whole poem is by one author. If a later poet had added a stanza, he would have endeavored to imitate the meter of the old song. Sievers' theory is just as untenable as Driver's opinion that the greater part of the song is probably Mosaic, and the expansion limited to the closing verses.<sup>23</sup> The song cannot have been incorporated in the Ephraimitic Document (E) from a collection of national poems;<sup>24</sup> the general style is not antique.

\* We find the same clumsiness very frequently in Jensen's translations in Schrader's KB; in KB 6, 176 *e. g.* the misleading blank lines after ll. 170, 186, 194 might have been easily avoided by placing [stichs] in l. 187 at the end of the preceding line, &c.

† *Cf.* Josephus, *Ant.*, ii, 16, 4 quoted in Ed. König's *Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik* (Leipzig, 1900) p. 341, ll. 13, 21.

The poem is different from the Song of Deborah,<sup>28</sup> David's Dirge,<sup>29</sup> and other old songs in the historical books;<sup>30</sup> it is evidently a late psalm<sup>31</sup> incorporated in the Pentateuch just as the late psalm commonly known as the Song of Hannah (which probably refers to Jehoiachin)<sup>32</sup> was inserted in the Books of Samuel. Moses' Song of Triumph seems to be a post-Exilic liturgical hymn for the Passover, celebrating JHVH's glorious deeds in times of yore.

According to Strack<sup>10</sup> the language and the contents of the first two stanzas are very old, and there is nothing which militates against the belief that they were written immediately after the event described therein. Verses 12-17, on the other hand, were written after the Conquest of Canaan; but the whole song is not later than the times of David (about 1000 B. C.). Similarly Reuss<sup>17</sup> considers this ode to be one of the oldest monuments of Hebrew literature, though not pre-Solomonic (about 950 B. C.). It is possible that this song is a later expansion of an ancient theme contained in v. 1<sup>b</sup> (cf. v. 21), not in vv. 1-10 (Strack<sup>10</sup>) or vv. 1<sup>b</sup>-3 (Ewald,<sup>11</sup> Dillmann,<sup>12</sup> Delitzsch<sup>13</sup>). Duhm remarks in his article on Poetical Literature in Cheyne-Black's EB 3792<sup>33</sup> that the opening couplet may be attributed to Miriam,<sup>34</sup> whilst vv. 2-19 are certainly a late artificial production. According to Bender,<sup>7</sup> however, v. 1<sup>b</sup> does not represent an antique nucleus (*l. c.*, pp. 11. 45); but his argument (p. 8) that this whole psalm is Messianic<sup>34</sup> is not valid. The opening couplet may be Mosaic even if all the subsequent lines be Messianic and post-Exilic.

The verb *לְהַטֵּה* to throw in v. 1<sup>b</sup> is no Aramaism. We might just as well say that *fremd* in Chaucer is a Germanism (contrast Ed. König, *Einleitung in das AT*, p. 425, l. 5). Several words which are common in Aramaic are archaic (and poetic) in

\*Miriam, the Hebrew prototype of the name Mary, might be interpreted to mean 'Milkier,' just as some comparative philologists supposed that the Indo-European word for 'daughter' meant originally 'milkier'; cf. O. Schrader, *Sprachevergleichung und Urgeschichte* (Jena, 1890) p. 196. In Arabic, *marî* means 'to stroke the udder of a camel so that it gives an abundance of milk' (مَرَى الناقة مَرِيَا إِذَا مَسَحَ ضَرْعَهَا لَتَدَّرَ);

cf. the name مَارِيَّة. Miriam is generally supposed to mean 'Star of the Sea.' But *stella maris* is a corruption of *stilla maris* 'drop of the sea' (מִרְיָם). This is one of the impossible etymologies given in St. Jerome's *Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum*; see *Onomastica sacra*, ed. Lagarde (Göttingen, 1887) p. 41, 14, 8. Modern Biblical scholars generally believe that Miriam means either 'rebellious' (מִרְיָם) or 'fat' (מִרְיָם); cf. Cheyne-Black's EB 2963 and TLZ 21, 36. For מַרְיָם = מִרְיָם cf. מִרְיָם = מִרְיָם, &c., and Syriac *bar* 'son' for *bir*, &c. See this JOURNAL, 1, 224, n. 5. All etymologies of ancient names are, of course, very uncertain.

Hebrew, *e. g.* אָרַח, מָלַח, חָזַח, אָתַח, נָחַח (Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 2, s; *cf.* Ed. König, *Stilistik*, p. 282). It is true that Rashi refers for רָמַח in v. 1<sup>b</sup> to the Aramaic רָמַי in Dan. 3, 21, but this verb is found also in Assyrian (just as *urxu* = אָרַח, &c.). In the cuneiform texts *ramû* means, as a rule, 'to establish one's residence, to take up one's habitation,' but the original meaning is 'to pitch a tent;' *cf.* κρηπίδα βάλλεσθαι, *fundamenta jacere*. We speak not only of *pitching* a tent or camp, but also of *pitching* (*i. e.* throwing) a ball or a dart, just as רָמַח means in Jer. 4, 29 (רָמַחַ קֶשֶׁת) 'to pitch a dart' (رمى السهم عن القوس) or 'to shoot with the bow;' *cf.* רָכַח Gen. 21, 20, also רָבַח Jer. 50, 29, *i. e.* רָבַח (רָבַח).<sup>7</sup> In the bilingual incantation K 4872 + Rm 110<sup>8</sup> we find Assyrian *ramû*<sup>9</sup> with the meaning 'to throw down.' We read there (v R 50, 46<sup>a</sup>; *cf.* l. 56<sup>a</sup>): ša ekimmu<sup>10</sup> limnu ina mûši irmûšu 'whom the evil spirit threw down at night' (Sumer. gal gigim gûlgal-e gi band-aria). The preceding line is ša alû limnu ina ma'ališu iktumušu 'whom the evil Alû<sup>11</sup> overpowered on his bed' (Sumer. gal Alal gûlgal-e ki-ná na-šin-dula) and the following line: ša gallû rabû inâruš 'whom the great Gallû<sup>12</sup> slew'<sup>13</sup> (نحر; *cf.* post-Biblical נָחַר 'to stab'). Heb. רָמַח 'to throw down' is therefore no Aramaism.<sup>14</sup>

We must also bear in mind that the opening couplet contains no reference to Pharaoh and his host. The second line is not, פָּרָחַ וְחִילֹו יָרָה בָּיָם *Pharaoh and his host He cast in the sea* (v. 4) but קָוַס וְרֶכֶב יָרָה בָּיָם *Both horses and chariots He plunged in the sea* (for יָרָכַב instead of יָרָכַו see below, p. 158). The passage of a portion of the Israelites through the former northern end of the Gulf of Suez and the submersion of some Egyptian chariots, alluded to in the antique nucleus of the Song of the Sea,<sup>15</sup> may be historical.

But Bender has shown conclusively that the language of the the subsequent lines of Moses' Song of Triumph is not antique but late. The alleged archaisms are artificial. The suffix -מוּ *e. g.* is found in the latest psalms, *e. g.* in ψ 2 which commemorates the coronation (104 B. C.) of Aristobulus as the first Hasmonean King of the Jews.<sup>16</sup> On p. 47 of his paper<sup>17</sup> Bender advances the conjecture that Moses' Song of Triumph may have been composed about 450 B. C. But it is quite possible that it is



a century later, it may have been inserted long after the completion of the Pentateuch.<sup>48</sup> It is certainly a mistake to suppose with Bæntsch (*op. cit.*, p. 129; contrast *ibid.*, p. lxi) that Josh. 2, 9<sup>b</sup> and 24 (*cf.* also Deut. 2, 25) allude to vv. 15<sup>b</sup>. 16<sup>a</sup> of Moses' Song of Triumph; the clause **נמלנו כל ישרי כנען** in v. 15 is evidently a gloss derived from the passages in Josh. Nor does Neh. 9, 11 presuppose the existence of the Song of the Sea;<sup>49</sup> if Ezra's confession of sins contained an allusion to that poem we should expect **במים אדירים צללו כעפרה** instead of **ואת ורדפיהם ירדו**; or **ורדפיהם השלכת במצולת כמו אבן במים עדים**; or at least **ואת ורדפיהם רמית במים אבן במים אדירים** (or **ירית**). Neh. 9, 11 shows only that the traditional narrative of the passage through the Red Sea was known at the time of Ezra, but not that our Song of the Sea<sup>50</sup> existed at that period.<sup>51</sup>

As stated above, the original text of this psalm consists of 36 **משלים**. **א** is divided into 18 verses, but the traditional verse-division is not good. Each of the 18 verses ought to contain a couplet of two **משלים** or four hemistichs; but several of the **א** verses represent but one **משל**, *e. g.* vv. 3. 5. 12. 18. Verses 9. 11. 17, on the other hand, contain three **משלים**; and unless we relegate v. 16<sup>b</sup> (gloss **י**) to the margin, this verse would contain four **משלים**. In the same way v. 9 contains four **משלים** if we insert the line: *I will never turn back until they are destroyed*.

The stichic arrangement in **א** is nearly correct,<sup>52</sup> certainly more correct than it is in the Song of Hannah.<sup>53</sup> Each **אריה**<sup>54</sup> represents a **משל**, except **אבן** (**אלהי**) **והאלי ואנ'הו** (**אלהי**) **נצבו (כמרנד) נזלים קפאו** (v. 2<sup>a.d</sup>) and (v. 8<sup>a.d</sup>) **קפאו** (**כמרנד**) **נזלים קפאו** where the two hemistichs of the **משלים** are separated by a **לבינה**.<sup>55</sup> On the other hand there ought to be a **לבינה** between vv. 4 and 5.

The text is, on the whole, well preserved, which is no doubt due to the fact that this psalm was incorporated in the Pentateuch. There are comparatively few corruptions, transpositions, and scribal expansions. The principal alterations are recorded in the subjoined Critical Remarks.

I disagree with Sievers,<sup>56</sup> not only in the strophic arrangement, but also in the vocalization and accentuation of a number of words.<sup>57</sup>

“שירת הים”

15,1 אז ישיר משה ובני ישראל את־השירה הזאת ליהוה ויאמרו:

i A  
אשירה ליהוה כי־גאה גאה  
קום ורכב״ קמה בים:

2 {{ וידגדג לי לישועה }} { וחמקת יי' ית' }  
חזאל־י (ז) ואנ־ךְ (ח) אבי וארממנהו:

ii 3 יִישׁ מלחמה יִהְיֶה שִׁמּוֹ:  
4 יִשְׂרָאֵל וְחִילּוֹ יִהְיֶה בִּים

5 וּמִבְּחֹר שְׁלֵשִׁיד תִּהְיֶה יִכְסִי'וֹם:  
טַבְעִי בִים־סוֹף: יִדְּו בַּמְצוֹלֹת:

iii 11 מִי כְמוֹכָה בְּאֵלִים יִהְיֶה  
מִי כְמוֹכָה נֶאֱדָר בַּקְדֻשִׁים:

12 מִרְאָה תִּהְיֶה עֲשֵׂה קֶלָא:  
נִסִּית יִמִּינְךָ תִּבְלַעְמוּ אֶרֶץ:

iv B 6 נִמְיָךְ יִהְיֶה נֶאֱדָר־ה' בְּכֹחַ  
יִמִּינְךָ יִהְיֶה תִרְצִץ אֹיֵב:

7 וּבִרְבִּי נֶאֱוָךְ תִּשְׁלַח חֲרִיֶּךְ  
תִּדְלֹס קִמִּיד יִאֲכַלְמוּ כֶּקֶשׁ:

(א) 15,1 לאמר (ב) 2 עצי (ג) אלחי (ד) 3 יהוה (ה) 4 מרכבת (ו) 5 כמו אבן

9 v אמר אויב ארדק אשג  
אחלק שלל חמלאמד נפשי

אריק חרבי תורישמו ידי  
ולא אשוב עד-קלותם:

8 vi וברוח אפיך נטרמו מים  
נצבוי נלים קפאו תהמת':

10 נשפת ברוחך כסמו ים  
צללו כעפרת במים אדירים:

13 vii C נחית בחסדך עם זר-גאלת  
נהלת בעד אל-נה קדשך:

14 שמעו עמים ירגזון 'ירעשון'  
חיל אחז ישבי פלשת:

15 viii אז נבהלו אלופי אדום  
אילי מדאב יאחזמו רע':

16 תפל עליהם אימתה ופחד  
בגדל זרשך ידמו כאבן:

17 ix תבאמו ותשעמו בקר מחלתך  
מכון לשבתך פעלת יהוה

מקדש 'יהוה' כונקי ידך:  
18 'אתה' 'ח'מלך לעולם ועד:

(\*) 8 כמר גד  
(\*) 15 נמגו כל לשבי כנען  
(\*) 16-17 עד יעבר עמך יחזה  
עד יעבר עם זר-קניח

(\*) בלבדים

THE SONG OF THE SEA.<sup>a</sup>

15, 1 *Then Moses and the Israelites sang to JHVH this song as follows:*<sup>a</sup>

- |        |  |   |
|--------|--|---|
| A. i   | To JHVH I sing,<br>Both horses and 'chariots'                        | of majesty is He;<br>He plunged in the sea.                         |
| 2{{    | My Help <sup>8</sup> He became,<br>Him praise I as my God,           | {'my' song is JAH;}<br>exalt as γ my Father.                        |
| ii 3   | A man of warfare,<br>4 The king <sup>22</sup> and his army           | JHVH His name is,<br>He cast <sup>22</sup> in the sea;              |
|        | His choicest charioteers <sup>22</sup><br>5 Engulfed by the Ocean,   | were whelmed in the Red Sea,<br>they sank in the deep. <sup>6</sup> |
| iii 11 | Who is like unto Thee,<br>Who is like unto Thee                      | JHVH, among gods?<br>in might, of the 'deities'?                    |
|        | Appalling in exploits,<br>12 Thy hand <sup>22</sup> Thou extendedst, | and marvelous deeds,<br>and Hades <sup>22</sup> devoured them.      |
- 
- |         |   |  |
|---------|---|--|
| B. iv 6 | Thy right hand, O JHVH,<br>Thy right hand, O JHVH,                    | has shown mighty vigor,<br>can shatter the foeman.             |
| 7       | The might of Thy majesty <sup>22</sup><br>Thy wrath, if Thou vent it, | subdues Thine opponents,<br>consumes them like stubble.        |
| v 9     | The foeman had boasted,<br>Divide up the spoil,                       | I will chase and overtake them,<br>wreak vengeance upon them,  |
|         | I will draw my sword,<br>'I will not turn back                        | my hand shall uproot them,<br>until they are destroyed.'       |
| vi 8    | The blasts of Thy nostrils<br>Arresting the currents,γ                | piled up the waters,<br>congealing the Ocean. <sup>6</sup> [γ] |
| 10      | Again blew Thy blast: <sup>22</sup><br>Like lead they descended       | the sea straight engulfed them;<br>in waters stupendous.       |

---

(a) 15, 1 saying (8) 2 my Strength (γ) the God of (8) 3 JHVH (e) 4 the chariots of  
 (5) 5 like a stone (γ) 8 (so that they stood) like a wall (e) in the heart of the sea  
 (c) 16-18 Until passed over Thy people, O JHVH,  
 Until passed over the people Thou acquiredst

c. vii	13	Thy goodness has guided <sup>52</sup> By strength Thou hast led them	Thy people thus rescued, to Thy holy homestead; <sup>53</sup>
	14	It was heard by the nations And shuddering seized on	all quaking 'and quivering,' <sup>54</sup> the men of Philistia.
viii	15	Then stricken with terror The mighty of Moab <sup>55</sup>	were rulers of Edom, were seized with sore trembling. <sup>56</sup>
	16	Affright and great panic Made still as a stone <sup>57</sup>	straightway fell upon them by strength of Thine arm.[ ]
ix	17	Thou broughtest and settest them The place Thou hast chosen	on the hill of Thy heritage, <sup>58</sup> to dwell in, O JHVH.
	18	In the Temple, O 'JHVH,' 'Thou' has't' dominion	which Thy hands established, for ever and ever. <sup>59</sup>

(\*) 15 all the dwellers of Canaan melted away (in fear)

### Critical Remarks on the Hebrew Text.

V. 1.—**אמר** is a variant to the preceding **יאמר**. We must read either **יאמר** or **לאמר**; cf. Crit. Notes on Daniel (SBOT) p. 16, l. 39.

For **אמר ורכב סוס** read **סוס ורכב** (cf. Sievers,<sup>21</sup> p. 408, n. 1) following **ἵππον καὶ ἀρβάνην**, **סוס (ו) ורכב** (**סוס**); **equum et ascensorem**, that is, 'horse and charioteer' (Assyr. *mûrnisqu u rākibu*; see *Beitr. z. Assyrl.* 4, 586, n. \*); Strack, correctly, *Ross und Fahrer*. Even at the risk of being included by Bœntsch<sup>6</sup> among those who know nothing of poetry I venture to assert that *rider* can here only mean 'charioteer,' not 'horseman' (Holzinger, Bœntsch, Bender). *Ross und Reiter* is undoubtedly more poetic in German owing to the alliteration and other poetic associations; but so far as the poetry of the Hebrew original is concerned, it does not make any difference whether we take **רכב** to mean 'riding on horseback' or 'riding in a chariot.' Bender (p. 11) states that **סוס ורכב** proves that this line cannot have been written by an eye-witness; the ancient Egyptians had no horsemen. But in the first place, **אמר** reads **ורכב**, not **ורכבו** (Bender, p. 4, l. 5); moreover, the final **ו** of the suffix may be due to dittography of the initial **ו** of **רמב** (cf. the remarks on **אמר** for **אמר**, below, n. 57 and Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 199, l. 27; finally, we must read, not **ורכב** but **ורכב**, **סוס ורכב**, i. e., 'horse(s) and chariot(s),' cf. 14, 9; Deut. 11, 4; Is. 43, 17; **ו** 76, 7; see also Deut. 20, 1; Josh. 11, 4; 1 K 20, 1. 21. 25; 2 K 2, 11; 5, 9; 6, 14. 17; 7, 6. 14; 10, 2; Is. 66, 20; Jer. 46, 9; 50, 37; **ו** 20, 8; Cant. 1, 9, and Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 206, l. 38; p. 211, l. 52; p. 214, l. 2. In *Die Schriften des AT, neu übersetzt von Augusti*

und De Wette, 1 (Heidelberg, 1809) p. 146, this line is correctly translated: *Rosse und Wagen stürzt er ins Meer*. The rendering ἀρμα is also found in the margin of a 6 MS; cf. Field *ad loc.*

For רמדה (אֶמְדָּה), see above, p. 153. According to Clement of Alexandria (200 A. D.) רמדה בים must be interpreted allegorically (εἰς τὰς κοσμικὰς ἀταξίας ἀποβαλόν); see Diestel, *Geschichte des AT* (Jena, 1869) p. 56.

V. 2.—The first line of v. 2 is quoted in Is. 12, 2 and in ψ 118, 14; and the second line, with some modifications, in ψ 118, 28. The psalm of thanksgiving in Is. 12 is very late,<sup>54</sup> ψ 118 also is Maccabean.<sup>55</sup> For the psalm in Is. 12 cf. Lagarde's remarks in his *Semitica*, 1 (Göttingen, 1878) 28. According to Lagarde the four songs attributed in the Canon to Moses are all by the same author. This hypothesis was advanced by Lagarde as early as 1847; cf. his *Symmicta*, 1 (Göttingen, 1877) 111.

The ו consecutive in רמדה is unintelligible unless we transpose the two hemistichs; cf. Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 282, l. 4. Subject of רמדה is, of course, יְהוָה, not זמרת, even if we adhere to the received text; contrast Gunkel *apud* Sievers, p. 577, below. Transposition of the two hemistichs is also preferable in ψ 118, 14.

רמדה is a variant to the preceding לישועה. Sievers, on the other hand, cancels זמרת.

For זמרת read זמרת (so Oort).<sup>56</sup> Vogel in Grotius' *Annotationes in Vetus Testamentum* 1 (Halle, 1775) says: זמרת dictum pro זמרת . . . canticum meum, de quo gloriari soleo. Cf. also J. D. Michaelis' *Neue Orientalische und Exegetische Bibliothek*, 3 (Göttingen, 1787) 195. The omission of the final י may be due to haplography, but cf. Noldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 50, B, and זמרת for זמרת, מנת for מנת, נחלת for נחלת (ψ 16, 2. 5. 6) &c.<sup>57</sup> Krochmal's emendation קדתי, adopted by Grätz,<sup>58</sup> is unnecessary; nor need we read נברתי = נברתי in ψ 118, 14 (against Duhm). It is true that Duhm proposes to substitute in Jer. 17, 14 אהיה כח תחולתי אהיה for כח תחולתי אהיה; but in ψ 22, 14 we must read: אהיה קדוש יושב תחולתי ישראל בך (haplography); see n. 17 to my paper on David's Dirge, cited below, n. 9, and for בך cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 119, 1; contrast vol. 19 of this JOURNAL, p. 186, l. 16. Gunkel in Sievers, p. 577, proposes to read קדתי (without יה) following 6 βοηθός και σκεπαστής (זמרת מנצח) ἐγένετό μοι εἰς σωτηρίαν, but this change is unnecessary.

For the ἀπαξ λεγόμενον זמרת (אֶמְדָּה, Ε ωλθ-ου-α:) Grätz<sup>59</sup> and Mayer Lambert (see ZAT 23, 16, n. 1) propose to read זמרת (cf. ψ 118, 28). I should prefer to transpose the נ, thus reading זמרת.<sup>60</sup>

For זמרת cf. Crit. Notes on Jeremiah (SBOT) p. 44, l. 28 and Jastrow, ZAT 16, 6; also Haupt, *Canticles* (Chicago, 1902) pp. 16 and 74 (= 18, 206; 19, 20 of this JOURNAL). Sievers reads יְהוָה instead of יה.

זמרת before אבי is not construct state (cf. Exod. 3, 6; 18, 4) but

a misplaced variant to אֱלִי in the first hemistich. In  $\psi$  118, 28 אֲבִי has dropped out, which may be due to haplography; the original text may have been אֱלֹהֵי אֲבִיוֹרִימָךְ (ר = ו, ב = י). For God as Father of His people see Deut. 32, 6; Jer. 3, 19; 31, 9; Is. 63, 16; 64, 7; Mal. 1, 6; 2, 10; cf. Exod. 4, 22 and W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, new edition (London, 1894) p. 41. In the cuneiform texts gods are often addressed as Father; see Delitzsch, AW 19, 3; HW 3<sup>b</sup>, 4; KAT<sup>3</sup>, 608. Sievers proposes to read אֲבִי אֵל and אֲרִימָדָךְ, but on p. 577 he mentions Gunkel's suggestion that אֱלֹהֵי should be canceled.

V. 3.—Omit יְהוָה at the beginning of this verse (so, too, Gunkel *apud* Sievers, p. 577); אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה (= גִּבּוֹר מ'  $\psi$  24, 8; so, too, Samar. in the present passage) is subject of יָרַח in the second hemistich of v. 4. The סוֹךְ פֶּסֶחַ at the end of v. 3 should be canceled. For the omission of יְהוָה cf. my remarks on the excision of אֱלֹהִים in  $\psi$  45 on p. 135, below, of vol. 19 of this JOURNAL. In the same way we must cancel יְהוָה in  $\psi$  110, 2. 4,<sup>45</sup> &c.

V. 4.—Not אֵל חֵילִי is a subsequent addition derived from 14, 4 (Sievers) but מִרְכַּבָּתָא.

For חֵילִי see my paper in *Beitr. z. Assyrl.* 4, 586, l. 37; cf. Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 113, l. 27. Grotius remarks on the translation of 3, *principes ejus* (AV, his chosen masters) = אֵל חֵילִי: *Eos intelligi quos Romanae historiae posterioris aevi vocant protectores, apparet collatis locis 2 Reg. 7, 2 et 9, 25; sed cur a ternario numero illis nomen? Origenes inde id ortum censet, quod illorum locorum reges in curribus praelia inirent. Erant autem in curru rex, auriga, et protector; contrast the English translation of Joshua (SBOT) p. 91, l. 26. אֵל חֵילִי in the present passage has the meaning ἀρματηλάτης (including ἡνίοχοι καὶ παραβάται). Ἐπιλέκτους ἀναβάτας τριστάτας is a doublet; אֵל חֵילִי (חֵילִי - חֵילִי). Bender is undoubtedly right in stating (p. 19) that the term חֵילִי would not have been used by an eye-witness; but this does not apply to סוֹךְ וּרְכַבָּ v. 1<sup>b</sup>.*

For the names יַם־סוּף and Red Sea see my remarks in JHUC, No. 163, p. 52<sup>b</sup>. According to Sayce, *The Early History of the Hebrews* (London, 1897) p. 182 the יַם־סוּף was not the Gulf of Akaba; contrast Winckler, *Geschichte Israel's*, 2 (Leipzig, 1900) 92 and in Helmolt's *Weltgeschichte*, 3 (Leipzig, 1901) 189; see also Carl Niebuhr, *Geschichte des ebräischen Zeitalters*, 1 (Leipzig, 1894) 239 ff. and 326, and in Helmolt, *op. cit.*, 614.

V. 5.—אֵל חֵילִי is *pluralis amplificativus*; cf. Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 295, l. 3.

For אֵל יַחְסִימוֹ read, with Sievers, יַחְסִימוֹ or יַחְסִימוֹ (אֵל יַחְסִימוֹ). Ἐπόντῃ ἐκάλεσεν αὐτούς seems to have read יַחְסִימוֹ (Samar. יַחְסִימוֹ); cf. ZAT 23, 19, below.

**כְּמֹדֶאֱבֵן** is correctly canceled by Sievers; it is scribal expansion based on כְּעֹפֶרֶת, v. 10; it may be derived from Neh. 9, 11; see above, p. 154 and below, p. 162. *ad* v. 8.

**V. 11.—**Verses 11. 12 must be inserted after v. 5.

According to Rosenmüller<sup>19</sup> מַגְדִּישׁ בְּקֶדֶשׁ *magnificus in sanctitate=insigni sanctitate praeditus*. Reuss (AT 3, 388, n. 1)<sup>17</sup> says, קֶדֶשׁ is here the awe-inspiring majesty of God. But we must read, following Ε δεδωσμένους ἐν ἀγίοις, בְּקֶדֶשׁ יְיָ (Ξ 1001: ἡσθη: ἰδοῦ:

נֹמְנֹת: פִּגְמֹת; , <sup>SH</sup> (مَغْمَمَاتٌ صَغِيرَاتٌ) i. e., among the deities, the divinities worshipped by the heathen; cf. Wellhausen's notes on  $\psi$  29 and 58 in the English translation of the Psalms (SBOT) p. 176, l. 36; p. 187, l. 31, and Driver *ad* Deut. 4, 19. מִי כַמְלָה נֶאֱדָר בְּקֹדֶשׁ = מִי כַמְלָה נֶאֱדָר בְּקֹדֶשׁ (ψ 86, 8) or מִי כַמְלָה נֶאֱדָר בְּקֹדֶשׁ; cf. ψ 89, 8, 6; Job 5, 1; 15, 5; Zech. 14, 5; ψ 16, 3.<sup>30</sup>

For ᾠδὴν laudes see ψψ 9,15; 78,4; Is. 60,6; 63,7. & θαυμαστὸς ἐν δόξῃ, the *Graecus Venetus*, ed. Gebhardt (Leipzig, 1875) renders φοβερός τοὺς αἰῶνας.

It is not necessary to read נפלאות instead of פלא. Perles' conjecture (p. 110, n. 4)<sup>18</sup> that the line קשרה פלא נורא זהוֹלָה (cf. נורא עלילה ψ 66, 5) represents a subsequent insertion is gratuitous.

V. 12.—**אֶרֶץ** refers here to the nether world; cf. **לְאֶרֶץ** Eccl. 3, 21 (which is not a gloss to the preceding **לְבַשְׂתָּהּ**) and Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos* (Göttingen, 1895) p. 18, n. 1. Assyr. *ergitum* often has this special meaning; it is synonymous with *bit mûti* and *naqbaru* (= **מִקְבָּר** for **מִדְבָּר** 1 K 2, 34; cf. my remarks in SBOT *ad loc.*); see HW 137<sup>a</sup>, 3; KAT<sup>a</sup>, 636; ASKT 23, 468, also the twelfth tablet of the Babylonian Nimrod Epic, col. ii, ll. 24 ff. (KB 6, 258) and Istar's Descent to Hades, rev., l. 5 (KB 6, 86). V. 12 certainly does not allude to the fate of Korah and his followers (Num. 16, 32) as Holzinger supposes.

**V. 6.**—V. 6 resumes יָמִינֶךָ of the first hemistich in v. 12.

For the *Chireq compaginis* in נָאֲדָרִי בְּכַף cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 90, l. The final י, however, seems to me doubtful; in the fourth hemistich of v. 11, where it would be just as appropriate, we do not find it. We must read, following Ἐδεδάσται, נָאֲדָרִי as verbal predicate to יְמִינֶךָ, coordinated to יְרֵצִי in the fourth hemistich. This emendation is also recommended by Bender (ZAT 23, 23). נָאֲדָרִי would have to be taken as apposition to יְרֵדֶךָ. J. D. Michaelis thus translated: Thy right hand, O יהוה, Thou Mighty One (so, too, Dillmann and Holzinger). Rosenmüller<sup>19</sup> says, נָאֲדָרִי est ad Jovam referendum; nam יְמִינֶךָ est nomen feminei generis.

For ~~𐤀𐤏𐤍~~, which is half Hebrew, half Aramaic, we must read ~~𐤀𐤏𐤍~~. The cuneiform *raṣaḡu* 'to shatter' = 𐤏𐤍 in the Amarna Letters (KAT<sup>a</sup>, 658) is imaginary; see HW 617<sup>b</sup>.





אֶל כָּל יִשְׂרָאֵל נִמְנוּ is an illustrative quotation from Josh. 2, 9, 24; cf. the remarks on כְּמִי-נִד in v. 8. For illustrative quotations see the abstract of my paper *Erläuternde Citate im AT* in the Proceedings of the Thirteenth Congress of Orientalists, held at Hamburg, 1902.

V. 16.—It is unnecessary to read עֲלֵימָר or 'alēm (Sievers).

For אֶל בְּגִדֵּל we may point בְּגִדֵּל (cf. Num. 14, 19; ψ 79, 11, and Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 132, c) but אֶל בְּגִדֵּל is more poetic and rhythmically preferable.

For the second half of v. 16 see above, on v. 8.

Zenner<sup>19</sup> proposes to read יָד instead of אֶל יָד; cf. Crit. Notes on Job (SBOT) p. 28, ad 1, 23.

V. 17.—For אֶל חִבְיָאֲמָר 'Thou broughtest them' (preterit) cf. Friedrich Delitzsch, *Hiob* (Leipzig, 1902) p. 140, ad v. 3, and the footnote at the end of § 87 of his *Assyr. Gr.* (Berlin, 1889), also my paper *The Oldest Semitic Verb-form* in JRAS 10, 244-252 (London, 1878) and n. 23 to my *Prol. to a Comp. Assyr. Gr.* (JAOS 13, cclxiii).

Wellhausen, *Geschichte Israels* (Berlin, 1878) p. 22, n. 1, seems to think that the third מִשָּׁל of this verse is a subsequent explanatory gloss (so, too, *Prolegomena*, 1888, p. 23; third ed., 1886, p. 23; fourth ed., 1896, p. 22). The 'hill of Thy heritage' (cf. ψ 78, 54) does not refer to the hills of Canaan (so Aben Ezra, Rosenmüller, Knobel, Ewald, Wellhausen, Dillmann-Ryssel, Strack, Bæntsch; cf. Deut. 3, 25; Is. 14, 25; Ezek. 6, 2; 19, 9; 1 K 20, 23) but to Mount Zion (so, correctly, Keil<sup>21</sup>); Zion and the district around it was the heritage of the chosen people after the return from the Exile; cf. Holzinger *ad loc.* See also Kuenen, *Einleitung*, 1 (Leipzig, 1885) 228; English edition: Kuenen, *The Hexateuch* (London, 1886) p. 239.

אֶל אֲדָרִי in the fifth hemistich is Qerē for יִדְדָרִי; cf. Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 43, ll. 13, 46; p. 168, l. 44; p. 211, l. 43. Several Heb. MSS and Samar. read יִדְדָרִי.

For אֶל יִדְדָרִי we must read אֶתְּהָרִי. This last line, of course, may have been often quoted in the form יִדְדָרִי לְעֵלָם וְעַד.

### Notes.

(1) See the abstract in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars* (JHUC) No. 163, p. 52<sup>b</sup>.

(2) See vol. 19 of this JOURNAL, pp. 131 and 195. For ψ 16 see below, n. 60. Hubert Grimme's statement in his *Psalmenprobleme* (Freiburg, Switzerland, 1902) p. 141 that hemistichs with two beats are older\* than hemistichs with three beats is certainly erroneous: stanzas iii-v of David's Dirge (see below, n. 9) are triplets with two beats in each hemistich, but the first two stanzas and the last two stanzas of that ancient elegy have three beats in each hemistich. We find the same combination of double-hemistichs with 2+2 and 3+3 beats in the Song of Lamech (Gen. 4, 23, 24) which must be arranged as follows:

\* Cf. J. Ley's *Leitfaden der Metrik der hebräischen Poesie* (Halle, 1887) p. 14, 1.



(8) Keil does not separate v. 18 as *Abgesang* from the preceding lines. Nor is v. 1<sup>b</sup> an introductory couplet (*Aufgesang*): v. 1<sup>b</sup> and 2 go together; the introductory stanza consists of four double-hemistichs.

(9) These pentapodies (Sievers: *Fünfer*) are generally called קִנְיָה verses (cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 2, r); but this name is a misnomer; see my remarks on David's Dirge, *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, No. 163, p. 54<sup>b</sup> and cf. my reconstruction of the Song of Derision upon Sennacherib in *Crit. Notes on Kings* (SBOT) p. 278. Ley, *Grundzüge* (see below, n. 14) pp. 52. 234, termed the so-called קִנְיָה verses: elegiac pentameters.

(10) H. L. Strack, *Die Bücher, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus und Numeri* (Munich, 1894) p. 213, iv.

(11) H. Ewald, *Die Dichter des Alten Bundes*, part 1, first half<sup>2</sup> (Göttingen, 1866) p. 173. According to Ewald there is a lacuna of six lines between vv. 12 and 13; he rightly felt that v. 13 was not the sequel of v. 12. But there is no gap of six lines in the poem; only one line has dropped out at the end of v. 9.

(12) In Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1858) p. 128 the lines are arranged in four sections, but the division is different: 1-3; 4-8; 9-13; 14-18.

(13) This arrangement was adopted by Aug. Palm in his *Alt-Hebräische Lieder* (Zurich, 1881) p. 17. Palm gives some rather strange translations; he renders e. g. יִרְדּוּ בַּמַּצּוֹלֹת כַּמַּרְאֵב (v. 5): *sie stiegen in die brausende Tiefe wie ein Stein*.

(14) Julius Ley, *Grundzüge des Rhythmus, des Vers- und Strophenbaues in der hebräischen Poesie* (Halle, 1875) p. 212. In *Die metrischen Formen der hebräischen Poesie* (Leipzig, 1866) he believed that the first two stanzas consisted of vv. 1-3 and 4-8.

(15) Ernst Meier, *Die poetischen Bücher des AT* (Stuttgart, 1850) p. 6.

(16) Gustav Bickell, *Dichtungen der Hebräer*, 1, 7 (Innsbruck, 1882); cf. his *Carmina Veteris Testamenti metrica* (Oeniponte, 1882).

(17) Eduard Reuss, *Geschichte des AT*<sup>2</sup> (Braunschweig, 1890) p. 214, 2; cf. his translation of OT, 3 (Braunschweig, 1893) 337.

(18) Felix Perles, *Zur althebräischen Strophik* in the *Vienna Oriental Journal* (WZKM) 10 (1896) 112.

(19) J. K. Zenner, *Die Chorgesänge im Buche der Psalmen*, 1, 72; cf. Rosenmüller, *Scholia in Exodum*<sup>3</sup> (Lipsiae, 1822) pp. 286. 288. On p. 290 Rosenmüller says: *Carmen in duas partes commodè dipeccitur; prior praesentia Dei celebrat miracula* (vv. 1-11), *posterior futura prophetica extollit Dei beneficia* (vv. 12-19).\*

(20) Nor is there any strophic division in Michael Heilprin's *Historical Poetry of the Ancient Hebrews*, 1 (New York, 1879) pp. 57-60; or in W. E. Addis' *Documents of the Hexateuch*, 1 (London, 1892) p. 180; or in B. W. Bacon's *Triple Tradition of the Exodus* (Hartford, 1894) p. 79; or in *The Hexateuch*, ed. Carpenter and Harford-Battersby, 2 (New York, 1900) p. 103.

\* Rosenmüller's 29 is, of course, a misprint for 19.

(21) Ed. Sievers, *Studien zur hebräischen Metrik* (Leipzig, 1901) p. 408.

(22) C. H. Cornill, *Einleitung in das AT*<sup>14</sup> (Leipzig, 1896) p. 61.

(23) S. R. Driver, *The Literature of the OT*<sup>1</sup> (New York, 1898) p. 80.

(24) The same untenable opinion was expressed by R. Kittel in his *Geschichte der Hebräer*, 1 (Gotha, 1888) p. 187; English translation, 1 (London, 1895) p. 207. In the same way Baudissin, *Einleitung* (Leipzig, 1901) p. 87, thinks that this triumphal ode may have been inserted in the Judaic Document (J) from an earlier source; cf. *ibid.*, p. 69, n. 3. See also Riehm's *Einleitung*, 1 (Halle, 1889) p. 299. In Carpenter's *Hexateuch* (see above, n. 20) 2, 103 (cf. 1, 160) it is stated that the poem was probably inserted into JE before the union of JE with P.

(25) See J. W. Rothstein, *Zur Kritik des Deborahliedes und die ursprüngliche rythmische Form desselben* in ZDMG 56. 57; cf. this JOURNAL, 19, 137, n. 15.

(26) See my paper cited above, in n. 9; contrast Bickell's *Dichtungen* (cited above in n. 16) p. 34, Perles' paper cited above in n. 18, and Vincenz Zapletal, *Alttestamentliches* (Freiburg, Switzerland, 1903) pp. 113-124; also Ley, *Metr. Formen*, p. 174; *Grundzüge*, p. 205; *Leitfaden*, p. 28. On p. 116 of his book Zapletal calls attention to the fact that J. C. Matthes, ZAT 23, 121 proposes to read כָּסַף דְּהִישָׁר instead of דְּהִישָׁר כָּסַף. I advanced the same conjecture in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, No. 163, p. 54<sup>b</sup>, below.

(27) See Crit. Notes on Numbers (SBOT) p. 54, l. 28; p. 55, l. 33. Budde's reconstruction of the Song of the Well is untenable from the metrical point of view. This song consists of a couplet of two מְשֻׁלִּים with three beats in each hemistich. The lines must be arranged as follows:—

עַלִּי בְּאֵר עַלִּי-לֵךְ בְּאֵר חִפְרָהּ שָׁרִים  
 שִׁרָה נְדִיבֵי הָעָם בְּמִדְקָק בְּמִשְׁעָנָם

Issue forth, O Well, issue forth! Well which the princes sank, [maces.  
 Which the nobles of the people bored with the truncheon, their (princely)

See Sievers (cf. above, n. 21) p. 411. For בְּאֵר instead of בְּאֵר see Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 280, l. 26 (cf. Sievers, p. 280, n. 2; contrast Gesenius-Kautzsch<sup>27</sup>, § 93, t, note 1); and for בְּמִשְׁעָנָם, with two beats, see the remarks on the Song of Lamech, above, n. 2. For עֲנִי-לָהּ we must read, with Wellhausen, עַלִּי-לֵךְ; this song does not refer to the digging of a well, but to the 'opening' (فتوح) i. e. the capture of the Moabite city of Beer; cf. Wellhausen, *Composition des Hexateuchs* (Berlin, 1889) p. 343 and Holzinger *ad loc.*; contrast Cheyne-Black's EB 515. The verb כָּרַד means also 'to bite,' lit. 'to sink or bury the teeth'; see my note on כָּאֲרִי יָדֵי וְרִגְלָי 22, 17<sup>c</sup> in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, No. 163, p. 56<sup>b</sup>, n. 17. Here כָּרַד 'to dig' means 'to prod, to prick, to puncture': the princes gave Beer a dig, breaching the walls of the city. Contrast Bœntsch *ad loc.*

Ley, *Met. Formen* (1866) p. 142, vii arranges the text as follows:

עלי באר ענרלה  
באר חפרה שרים כרזה נדיבי עם  
במחקק במשענתם

Cf. my remarks in Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 282, l. 52.

(28) So Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*<sup>2</sup> (1883) p. 374, n. 1; <sup>3</sup> (1886) p. 368; (1895) p. 359; cf. his *Israel. und Jüd. Gesch.* (Berlin, 1894) p. 10, below.

(29) See E. Sellin, *Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der jüd. Gemeinde nach dem babyl. Exil*, 1 (Leipzig, 1901) p. 282; cf. my remarks in Drugulin's *Marksteine* (Leipzig, 1902) p. 43 and Zapletal (see above, n. 26) p. 111. See also below, n. 49.

(30) Cf. J. C. Nachtigall's view (*ἐνίκιον nonnisi versu 1 et 21 constitiisse*) and Diestel, *Gesch. d. AT* (Jena, 1869) p. 610.

(31) According to Dillmann (quoted by Driver; see above, n. 22) we seem indeed to hear Moses himself speaking in vv. 1<sup>b</sup>-3.

(32) Franz Delitzsch, *Neuer Commentar über die Genesis* (Leipzig, 1887) p. 29.

(33) See Moore's article on Exodus in the same work, col. 1451 and Bennett's remarks on Moses in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*, 3, 446<sup>b</sup>. The opinion that v. 1<sup>b</sup> may be old (cf. above, n. 30) is also expressed by Bæntsch, Holzinger (p. 45) and Wildeboer, *Die Literatur des AT* (Göttingen, 1895) p. 26.

(34) See Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter* (London, 1891) p. 81, note g; Isidore Loeb, *Les morceaux poétiques insérés dans les textes de prose de la Bible* in the *Revue des Etudes Juives* 24 (Paris, 1892) pp. 196-224. For the so-called Messianic Psalms see *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, No. 106, p. 108; No. 163, p. 56, n. 17; p. 69, n. †; cf. below, nn. 45 and 55. Cf. also Stade, *Akad. Reden und Abhandlungen* (Giessen, 1899) pp. 39-75 and Zimmern, *Keilinschriften und Bibel* (Berlin, 1903) p. 40; KAT<sup>3</sup>, 380.

(35) For ψ 78, 9 see Duhm *ad loc.*

(36) קָשָׁתָא seems to be an old gloss to the preceding רָבָה; see Kautzsch-Socin's *Genesis*<sup>2</sup> (1891) p. 42, n. 91; it is unnecessary to read קָשָׁתָא רָבָה; contrast Crit. Notes on Genesis (SBOT) p. 73, l. 40 and Gunkel *ad loc.* For ב = מ cf. בָּרָעָה = מַרְדֵּת (Fränkel, *Aram. Fremdwörter*, p. 104) and my remarks in ZA 2, 268. רָבָה קָשָׁתָא Gen. 49, 23 is doubtful; see Holzinger *ad loc.*

(37) For רַבִּי Job 16, 13, lit. 'His many' (*scil.* darts) see Friedrich Delitzsch, *Das Buch Hiob* (Leipzig, 1902) p. 156.

(38) See my ASKT 187, l. 16; Zimmern, *Busspsalmen*, p. 7, n. 1 and p. 91; Delitzsch, HW 622.

(39) Syn. nadû; see ASKT 15, 197; HW 448<sup>b</sup>. It is not necessary to assume two different stems רָמַד, ramû 'to remit, to slacken, to abate' means originally 'to settle;' contrast Zimmern, *Busspsalmen*, p. 91.

(40) The reading *edimmu* (Hunger, *Becherwahrung*, p. 33) is unwarranted; cf. ASKT 108, 28; 134 and Jastrow, *Die Religion Babylonien und Assyriens* (Giessen, 1904) p. 208, n. 2.

(41) See Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (Boston, 1898) p. 260; German ed., p. 278 (and p. 352). Cf. R. C. Thompson, *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia* (London, 1904).

(42) Cf. the translation in Sayce's *Hibbert Lectures* (London, 1888) p. 516, l. 24.

(43) For אַנְדֵּרִי in the fourth line of the poem see below, n. 58.

(44) See Rosenmüller, *Scholia in Exodum* (Leipzig, 1822) p. 289, l. 10; cf. Levy's *Neuhebr. Wörterbuch*, 1, 136<sup>b</sup>; 4, 549<sup>a</sup>, below.

(45) See vol. 19, of this JOURNAL, p. 130, l. 6 and *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, No. 163, p. 90. Contrast Zapletal (see above, n. 26) pp. 125–138. Zapletal gives there the same explanation of נִשְׁקֶה בָּר (viz., 'kiss the ground') which I advocated in April 1903 (or rather in Dec. 1902; see this JOURNAL, 19, 129, n. \*). For the alleged acrostich לִינִי at the beginning of the first four מְשָׁלִים (Zapletal, p. 137, l. 3) see Bæthgen, ZDMG 57, 371; cf. my paper on ψ 110 in *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, No. 114 (July, 1894) p. 111, n. \*.

(46) The Samaritan secession, it may be supposed, took place about 330 B. C.; cf. Steuernagel, *Allgemeine Einleitung in den Hexateuch* (Göttingen, 1900) p. 276, n. 2 and Bertholet's review in the *Theol. Literatur-Zeitung* of March 30, 1901, col. 188; also Cheyne-Black's EB 5015 (contrast *ibid.*, 4260) and Baudissin, *Einleitung* (Leipzig, 1901) p. 180. See also Duhm's remarks in his commentary on the Psalms (Freiburg i. B., 1899) p. 256, l. 13.

(47) According to Perles (see above, n. 18) p. 111 Hos. 2, 17 (עֲנֵה נָעֻרָה) (שָׁמָּה, כִּי־מִי נִעֲרָה; וְכִי־עָלָתָה מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם) seems to show that the Song of the Sea was known to Hosea! Contrast Nowack *ad loc.* For עָנָה see note 47 to my paper on Babylonian Elements in the Levitic Ritual (JBL 19, 70).

(48) Gesenius-Kautzsch<sup>71</sup>, § 2, r states that this stichic arrangement is not dependent in any way on the metrical structure of the poetic sections; but this view is certainly erroneous. In Josh. 12, 19–24 and Est. 9, 7–10 it is a different matter: the lines in those passages represent, of course, no poetic lines, just as my arrangement of the text of Ezra-Nehemiah (SBOT) pp. 1–3. 8. 10. 12. 13. 15–17. 20–22 is not influenced by metrical considerations; cf. also Numbers (SBOT) pp. 1. 4. 12. 14. 28–30. 34. 36–38; Kings, pp. 5. 6. Eccl. 3, 1–8, which must be inserted after the two opening stanzas, 1, 1–7 and 8–11 (substitute 6, 10 for 1, 9) must be arranged in four couplets with 3+3 beats in each line. Read: עֵדֶי לְמִזְרָח וְעַתָּה לְמִזְרָח, &c. The genuine portions (195 מְשָׁלִים) of Ecclesiastes are all written in couplets or triplets with 3+3 beats in each line. Only certain glosses, e. g. 8, 2–6+10, 4. 20+7, 21. 22 exhibit 2+2 beats.

(49) This psalm consists of two sections: vv. 1–5 and 6–10; each section comprises four couplets; each couplet contains two double-

hemistichs with 3+3 beats. The two משלים of v. 8 must be transposed. The third משל of v. 8 is a gloss, but the last line of the poem is not a subsequent addition; contrast Zapletal, *op. cit.* (see above, n. 26) p. 108 and Bickell's *Dichtungen* (see above, n. 16) 1, 32.

(50) For the arrangement of the poetic lines in ~~the~~ אריז, known as אריז על גב לבנה ולבנה ע"ג אריז, see Rosenmüller (*cf.* above, n. 19), p. 289; Levy's *Neuhebr. Wörterbuch*, 1, 163<sup>b</sup> s. v. אריז, and Jastrow's Dictionary, p. 119<sup>b</sup>. A line of the text written in this way is termed אריז, the blank space left between the lines of the text is called לבנה. This arrangement of the text is observed in Heb. MSS, even if they are otherwise written in two or three columns; *cf.* Ginsburg's *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible* (London, 1897) pp. 477. 583, n. 2; 591. 598. 606. 667. 682. 686. 692. 710. 721. 729. 734. 743. 754. 766. 772. For the arrangement of the lines in the *Graecus Venetus* see Gebhardt's edition (Leipzig, 1875) p. xliv. *Cf.* also Ed. König's *Einleitung* (Bonn, 1893) p. 462 and my note in vol. 19 of this JOURNAL, p. 194, n. \*\*.

(51) Sievers reads: אשירה (v. 1); וידו-לי (v. 2); ימיקה (6. 12); נאוקה and חרקה (7); נערמו ne'ermú (v. 8) instead of ne'remu; קדשה, בענה, עמון, חסנה, עשה פלא (10); כמון (11); עמון, חורקה, רפחור (15); פנך, רעד (14); חיל-אח (13); עמון, חורקה, רפחור (16); לשבתה, נחלתה (17); *cf.* Sievers,<sup>21</sup> §§ 197 ff. 229. We may restore pausal forms at the end of the hemistichs; but we have no right to read ימיקה &c. instead of ימיקה.

(52) The Hebrew original exhibits several cases of assonance and alliteration; *cf.* Ley, *Met. Formen* (see above, n. 14) pp. 135-139; Bæntsch's commentary on Exodus and Leviticus, p. 130 below; but most of the illustrations given by Bæntsch are either erroneous or accidental; in Dr. Casanowicz's dissertation on Paronomasia in OT (1894) there is not a single reference to the Song of the Sea (*cf. op. cit.*, p. 40, 13 and p. 87). See also Umbreit's commentary on Proverbs (Heidelberg, 1826) p. 195 and my remarks in Crit. Notes on Proverbs (SBOT) p. 58, l. 18. The alliterations in my translation of the Song of the Sea do not correspond to alliterations in the Hebrew original, except in v. 14: *all quaking and quivering* = ירגזון ירעשון, but in this case the second word is not found in the Received Text.

(53) The rhythm of my translation has been much improved by the kind assistance of the co-editor of the Polychrome Bible, Horace Howard Furness.

(54) Cheyne says in his *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah* (London, 1895) p. 59: Comparing Is. 12, 2<sup>b</sup> with ψ 118, 14 one is tempted to conjecture that the two songs of Is. 12 express the joy of Israel at the rededication of the Temple in 165 B. C., which is regarded as the opening of a new era for Israelites both 'far off and near'; *cf.* Cheyne-Black's EB 2195, n. 5.



(55) Psalm 118 seems to have been written, not for the חֲנֻכָּה under Judas Maccabeus in Dec. 165 B. C. but for the celebration of the surrender in May 142 B. C. of the acra erected by Antiochus Epiphanes south of the Temple hill.

(56) This is the only departure from the Received Text, recorded in H. Oort's *Emendationes* (Leyden, 1900). In Kautzsch's *Beilagen* there is no critical note at all on the text of Exod. 15.

(57) H. Grätz, *Emendationes*, ed. Bacher (Breslau, 1894).

(58) Ewald (see above, n. 11) remarked that אֶנְדְּרוּ seemed to be taken from an entirely different dialect. This causative form is generally supposed to be derived from נִאֲדָה, and נִאֲדָה is considered to be a Nif'al based on the Piel אָדָה.\* This explanation may be correct, so far as the post-Biblical דָּרָה (Hif'il דָּרָה 'to embellish, to adorn') is concerned; but I doubt whether such a tertiary formation could have been developed in 450 B. C. or even in 350 B. C. (see above, p. 154, l. 1). Franz Dietrich in the seventh edition of Gesenius' *Handwörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1868) p. 558 compared דָּרָה 'to desire,' דָּרָה 'desirable,' and דָּרָה 'to praise.' Rashi notes that according to some exegetes אֶנְדְּרוּ is equivalent to נִייר וְשִׁבְרוּ וְאֶנְדְּרוּ.

I believe that אֶנְדְּרוּ is a corruption (or subsequent adaptation) of אֶנְדְּרוּ, from נָאֵד = נָאֵד, i. e. the same stem from which נָאֵד (Assyr. nādu) 'skin-bottle, borachio' (δορός, *uter*, French *outre*) is derived. This corruption of the obsolete אֶנְדְּרוּ to אֶנְדְּרוּ may have taken place at a comparatively late period: in the square character (כתב מרבע) ר, נ, and ד may be easily confounded; cf. above (p. 158) the remarks on רָמָה סוֹס וְרָכַב סוֹס instead of סוֹס וְרָכַב אֶנְדְּרוּ. The stem נָאֵד is preserved in נָה 'mound, knoll, heap,' which we find in the gloss כְּמִנְיֵה (v. 8). It is not necessary to derive נָה from a stem נָה (against Brown-Driver-Briggs, p. 622); it may just as well be derived from a stem נָה; cf. נָה, נָה, נָה, נָה, &c., and Noldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 98, C.

Assyr. nādu means originally 'to swell, swell up, bulge out, be inflated' (طَوَّفَ; cf. נָהוּת נָהוּת); gabšū 'inflated skin' (طَوَّفَ) is derived from גָּבַשׁ 'to bulge, be bulky, grow large, swell'; see my remarks in Crit. Notes on Ezekiel (SBOT) p. 65, l. 14, and on p. 125 of the English translation of Ezekiel in the Polychrome Bible. A skin-bottle is called nādu, because it is big-bellied, and for נָה 'mound' cf. *tumulus* and *tumid*. The Assyr. verb נָה is the common expression for 'to magnify' (cf. AV, ψ 34, 3) = 'to exalt the greatness' (especially of the gods; cf. HW 437). 'He is my God, and I will praise Him' would be in Assyrian: šu ilī-ma unā'adāšu. Delitzsch, AL<sup>1</sup>, 175, distinguishes נָה i 'to exalt' from נָה ii 'skin-bottle,' but this differentiation is gratuitous; cf. the remarks on ramū i and ii, above, n. 39. In Arabic we find نَهْد used of the swelling bosom (كعب ku'b) of a girl

\* See n. 66 to my paper cited below, p. 171, n. §.

(نهداء), and (كعب الثدى اذا نهد) means also 'praise, glory.' Assy. *girtu* 'breast' is the feminine of *girtu* 'high, exalted' (cf. ظهور). and its synonym *tiltu\** (or *tiltu*) is connected with *tilu*, *tillu* 'hill'; see my *Prolegomena to a Comp. Assy. Gr.* (JAOS 13, ccliii) p. li, below. The doubling of the *l* is secondary, just as the doubling of the *ח* in *אֲחִים* &c. (ZA 17, 308; cf. ASKT 176, No. 12) or the *Dagesh forte* in *בָּתִּים* 'houses'; see Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 210, l. 18. For רדן, בוש (= חט) כהל, רהם, ביהת cf. Aram. נוד = נאד = נוד cf. Lev. 26, 16 from שוק = נוק; נאק = באר = פור; דאב = דוב (see my Note on the Protevangelium in No. 106 of the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, p. 107; contrast Friedrich Delitzsch, *Hiob*, p. 150; AL<sup>4</sup>, 187<sup>b</sup>). For כאר ψ 22, 17 see above, n. 27; and for לאם = לום cf. Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 167, l. 37. The ἀπαλ γλεγμένον † 1 S 19, 13-16 may denote an inflated goat skin (contrast Haupt, *Cant.*, p. 30, n. 9 = this JOURNAL, 18, 220; H. P. Smith's commentary on Samuel, p. 180, n. \*) † while کبیر (Assyr. *kabru*, *kabbaru*) means 'great,' and کتب, 'to praise.' For כביר *princeps* in OT see Winckler, AoF 2, 239.

For the semasiological development cf. French *grosse* (German *gross* 'great') = *enceinte*, English 'great (or big) with child,' Lat. *uter* 'skin-bottle' and *uterus* 'womb,' also our vulgar 'big-bellied' = advanced in pregnancy. In Lucilius' *Satiræ* 26, 18 *bulga* 'leather-bag' is used of the womb; cf. Gothic *balgs* 'wine-skin,' German *balg* 'skin,' and English *belly* and *bellows* (German *Balg*, *Blasebalg*). The English verb *to bag* means also 'to swell' or 'to grow big|| with child.' In Sumerian the ideogram for rapšû 'wide, ample, extensive, spacious' (Arab. بطين, Sumer. dagal, daval) is also the ideogram for ummu 'mother' (Sumer. ama). Ummu 'mother' denotes originally 'womb,' just as the German *Mutter*§ is used for *uterus*; cf. Delitzsch's *Proleg.* (1886)

\* Cf. ASKT 85, 36. Tabu in this line means, of course, 'saltish,' not 'sweet.' The first milk secreted in the breasts after childbirth (*colostrum*, Arab. liba) is rather saltish, and this condition occasionally continues for some time. Pliny 28, 123 says: *Concipere nutrices exitialium est, hi sunt enim infantes qui colostrati appellantur, densato lacte in caset speciem.*

† Cheyne, *Crit. Bibl.* (1908) 232, says, כביר comes from מרבך, and העדים probably comes from אחרים, i. e., ירחמאל. I prefer Cheyne's pre-Jerahmeelite emendations.

‡ Also צִמְחָה 1 S 26, 16; 1 K 19, 6 (*cf.* 17, 12) was, of course, a skin-bottle.

¶ The etymology of *big* is obscure, but it can hardly be connected with *bag*. According to Dr. C. P. G. Scott *big* must probably be derived from Old Norse *\*byggj* 'habitable,' hence 'roomy, ample, big'; cf. English to *big* 'to inhabit.' As to *bag*, Dr. Scott has called my attention to the fact that in certain Italian dialects *baga* is used for oil-skin and belly. He thinks that at an early period, in some part of the Romance-Teutonic area (northern Italy or Spain, or southern France) a Romance *balga* (taken from Gothic *balgs*, or a possible fem. *\*balga*) arising e. g. in vineyard use or in the peddling commerce of rural districts may have been reduced to *\*ba(u)ga*, *\*bā(u)ga*, and then to *bāga*.

§ We have this in several compounds which are generally misunderstood, e. g. *Mutter-simmt*, i. e., cinnamon which may be used (as medicine) for the womb; cf. *Mutterkorn*, *Mutterharz*, &c. and our 'motherwort.' For *Muttersimmt* = *cortex malabathri* see my paper on Difficult Passages in the Song of Songs (JBL 31) p. 53.

p. 109; AL<sup>4</sup>, 88, 26, and my paper *Über einen Dialekt der sumerischen Sprache* in the *Nachrichten* of the Royal Society of Göttingen (GGN) Nov. 3, 1880 (No. 17) p. 521.

(59) The mark of abbreviation was overlooked; cf. Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 281, l. 6.

(60) The first two couplets of  $\psi$  16 must be restored as follows:

שמדני אל	כִּי־חִקִּיתִי כָךְ
אמרתִי ליהוה	אתה טובתי ':

בל-עלך   לקדשים	אשר בארץ []
וארדִי־ם ' כל־ם	הפצ־ו־בם [המדת]:

Preserve me, O God!	to Thee I flee;
Of JHVH I say:	My boon Thou art!

Inferior to Thee are	the gods in the land
And all superb ones	in whom <i>they</i> delight.

The קדשים are the Greek gods of Antiochus Epiphanes; the prefixed ל is the emphatic particle; see Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 288, l. 36; Grimme's *Psalmenprobleme* (1902) p. 28, n. 4; Dr. Casanowicz's list of passages with emphatic ל in JAOS 16, clxvii; and my remarks on the last line of Isaiah's Parable of the Vineyard in vol. 19 of this JOURNAL, p. 200. Ps. 16 was written about 167 B. C.

## THE ASSYRO-BABYLONIAN SCAPEGOAT CONTRO- VERSY.

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The question as to the existence or non-existence of the prototype of the Hebrew scapegoat rite among the ancient Babylonians is one of the greatest importance for all those who study the Old Testament from a critical point of view. In a popular summary in the *American Antiquarian*, Vol. XX, pp. 140-43, Dr. Christopher Johnston of the Johns Hopkins University suggested that the unilingual inscriptions K. 138 and K. 3232 (*ASKT.*, pp. 104-106) contained allusions to a ceremony similar to that of the Hebrew scapegoat mentioned in Lev., chap. 16. In *JAOS.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 1-22, I published a translation and a detailed critical commentary of these inscriptions, wherein I arrived at essentially the same conclusions as Dr. Johnston had reached. Mons. C. Fossey in his recent work *La Magie Assyrienne*, pp. 85 *sqq.*, attacked my translation and commentary and denied with much emphasis the existence of a scapegoat among the ancient Babylonians. Believing that Fossey had not proved his point, I published a longer article "Le bouc émissaire chez les Babyloniens," *JA.*, July-Aug., 1903, pp. 135-156, wherein I once more translated the inscriptions K. 138 and K. 3232, intending to establish more firmly the existence of a rite similar to that of the scapegoat in all three documents. Mons. Fossey seized this occasion to supplement my article in the *JA.* with a number of footnotes, calling in question some of my most important renderings and especially endeavoring to show that the animal which I take to be a scapegoat in these inscriptions was not an animal at all. The discussion having reached such a point, I wish in the present paper to explain very briefly, but even more clearly than before, my opinion regarding the rites described in K. 138 and K. 3232. As I still adhere to the main points in my translation as given in *JA.*, 1903, it will be unnecessary here to do more than to discuss in detail Fossey's latest reasons against the scapegoat theory.

§ 1. Mons. Fossey's main point in his objections to my views is his statement with regard to the meaning of the Sumerian word *bir-xuldubba*, *ASKT.*, nr. 12, 30, which he asserts cannot denote an animal at all owing to certain passages which I am about to cite. In Zimmern's *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der babylonischen Religion*, p. 122, we find the following interesting passage:

18. *Arkišu takpirāti ebbīti*  
Then with clean purifications
19. *šarra tukappar. Kima takpirāti tuqtetū*  
thou shalt purify the king. So soon as thou hast finished the purification,
20. *ana bābi tušēcā. Arkišu ina bir-xulduppe*  
thou shalt make them (the patients) go out of the door. Then with the *bir-xulduppū*
21. *ina bir-gibille ina lu-ti-la*  
with the *bir-gibillū*, with the sheep of life,
22. *ina urudu-nin-lig-ga ina sugugalle*  
with the copper of strength, with the skin of the great bull
23. *ina zere ekalla tuxap.*  
(and) with seed-corn thou shalt cleanse the palace (*i. e.*, the house).

In this passage the patients are brought out of the house and the dwelling is purified by various means, among which the *bir-xulduppū*<sup>1</sup> and the *lu-ti-la*, "the sheep of life," or perhaps "the living sheep," play a prominent part. It is certainly significant to find *bir-gibillū*, "the bir of the torch" here among these means of purification. *Bir-gibillū* means literally "the urīḡu or horned creature of the torch," possibly the horned creature which typifies purification, as it stands in this inscription in close connection with *lu-ti-la*, which Zimmern himself translates "the living sheep." I am forced to conclude that all these words were originally names of certain horned animals which were primitively used in a ceremony like that of the scapegoat.

The sign *bir* originally means "increase." It is a combination of *bar*=*ḡiptu*, "increase," especially in cattle, and *xi*,

<sup>1</sup>This is the Semitized form of *xul-dub-ba*; cf. IV. 15, iii, 8, 9. The Semitic equivalent is *amīšu*, 84, ii, 13, which I derive from a probable stem *amāšu*, "go away" (see Muse-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dict.*, s. v. *amāšu*). The word *amīšu* would then mean "a sending away," *actl.* "of evil" and would be an indirect translation of *xul-dub-ba*. One of the ideograms for the month Adar is *xul-dub-ba š(u-d-du)*, *i. e.* "that which assuages pain has gone forth" (see V. 43, 10 cd; II. 49, nr. 1, 6a).

dug, "a multitude" (cf. Delitzsch, *Keilschriftsystem*, p. 160). There can be no doubt whatever that the chief meaning of bir has to do with animals, and that its common significance is urīḡu. Thus, bir=bālu, "cattle," Br. 2026; bir=urīḡu in a number of passages, Br. 2030; bir-tum(ib)=bul ḡēri, "beasts of the field," Br. 2033, and finally, bir-gi(g)=šuttu, "dream," i. e. "a beast of the night," Br. 2035. Bearing this fact in mind, I refer once more to *ASKT.*, nr. 12, 38, where we read in Sumerian: sag-bi sag-ga-na umeni-gar-gar, "place its head (the head of the bir-xuldubba) on his head" (the patient's head). The analogy between this passage and IV. 26, nr. 6, 22 sqq., is too striking to be ignored: 23. urīḡa ana napištišu ittadin qaqqad urīḡi ana qaqqad amēli ittadin kišad urīḡi ana kišad amēli ittadin irti urīḡi ana irti amēli ittadin, "the urīḡu has been given for his life; the head of the urīḡu has been given for the head of the man; the neck of the urīḡu has been given for the neck of the man; the breast of the urīḡu has been given for the breast of the man." This plainly indicates that an urīḡu (=bir) might serve vicariously for the life of a man and the parts of the animal are enumerated one by one in comparison with the corresponding parts of the man. Fossey is undoubtedly right in correcting my rendering of ittadin in this passage, line 23. The line must be translated as above; "the urīḡu is given for his life," and I admit my error in translating nadānu here by the expression "placed in contact with." But Fossey's correction does not alter my opinion that we have here a description of a vicarious offering analogous to the transmission rites belonging to the Hebrew scapegoat ritual. It is most natural to see a parallel between IV. 26 and *ASKT.*, No. 12, 38. We have the same word bir=urīḡu in both, and the plain allusion to the *head* of the urīḡu and the *head* of the patient in *ASKT.*, nr. 12, 38.

Fossey compares bir-xuldubba with giš-xuldubba which occurs IV. 15, 8-15b, undoubtedly as the name of an implement of some sort probably used in a purification ceremony. This is not the bir-xuldubba, although it may have been employed in much the same manner and for the same purpose. Here we must note a most important point. In IV. 21, nr. 1, obv. 28-29 B, an inscription giving directions how to avert evil, we read:

ana mimma lumni țaradi bir-xuldubba ina mixrit bābi ulziz, "in order to avert anything evil the bir-xuldubba is set up in the doorway." This I believe gives us the key to the whole difficulty. In this passage and in the passage given by Zimmern, *op. cit.*, p. 122, the bir-xuldubba is an *image* of the original living "urīqu which assuages evil or pain," mentioned *ASKT.*, nr. 12, 38 and in my opinion identical with the urīqu of IV. 26, nr. 6 22 *sqq.*, just quoted, *i. e.*, the bir which is given for the life of the man! Zimmern's "living sheep" was probably an image of the same sort.

To sum up on this point the facts are as follows. The inscription, *ASKT.*, nr. 12, consists of three sections, the first of which deals most plainly with the destruction (line 8) and the driving away (15, 16) of certain horned creatures udu a(id)-dara, which are equivalent in their malevolent effect to the utukku, alū and ekimmu (17). They are ordered to go to a desert place euphemistically designated as "a clean place" (really "an unclean place"). Then follows (30-45) the inscription of the bir-xuldubba which is to be sought by Marduk and its head placed against the head of the patient (38), after which the patient is to become well again (41, 42). Then follows the reverse, where it is stated that the beasts of the plain are seized by Ea, from whose presence these malevolent demons are described as fleeing (rev. 3-4). A bow is given to the patient (15) with which he is to kill the horned animal (18). Then, and not till then, the patient is cured (19 *sqq.*). How are we to conclude otherwise than that the bir-xuldubba is, or originally was, a horned creature like the beasts mentioned in the first and last parts of this inscription?

The appearance of the bir-xuldubba in Zimmern, *op. cit.*, p. 122, and IV. 21, nr. 1, obv. 28, 29, as a probable *implement of purification* is merely a development of the *original* force of the bir-xuldubba seen in *ASKT.*, nr. 12, 30 *sqq.* In the primitive rite, the horned animal was a live creature endowed with malevolent powers. It might, however, by the use of the proper incantations be made to carry away disease. This was done in the one instance by driving it away from the patient and in the other case by first bringing it into contact with the patient and then driving it away. We must suppose that in the course of time the practical difficulty of procuring a live bir for the

ceremony gave rise to the use of an *image* of the original animal which was employed ritually as above indicated. In short, the horned animals were malevolent in so far as they represented disease, but might be turned to a benevolent use by the power of the correct incantation for their expulsion. Hence we have the pregnant expression *bir-xuldubba*, "the horned animal which assuages evil or pain." This view I think obviates the objections of Mons. Fossey against my interpretation of *ASKT.*, nr. 12. The first inscription, 1-29, is not one of transmission, but a rite for obviating evil or disease by *driving away*. As Fossey saw, there is no contact with the victim mentioned in these lines, a point which I did not bring out with sufficient clearness in *JA.*, 1903. The next inscription, 30-45, is plainly a rite of purification by contact, followed by the driving away of the *bir* and the recovery of the patient. The reverse again deals with the driving away of animals and description of the rite of the killing of the animal by means of a bow-shot by the patient. The inscriptions are all allied in force and are plainly grouped together for this reason.

§ 2. I shall now deal in detail with Fossey's minor objections to my translation of *ASKT.*, nr. 12. On p. 144 (*JA.*, 1903) I regard the ending *-maš* in *udu a(id)-dara-maš*, "horned creatures," as a plural suffix, changed from *-meš* by the well known laws of vowel harmony, so common in Sumerian. Fossey states (note 2) that this is impossible, because in *dagal-la-meš* (IV. 1, 13c) and *gal-gal-la-meš* (IV. 27, 22 b) the plural ending is *-meš*, where we should expect *maš*! He accordingly reads *maš* as *bar*, with the meaning "*sauvage*." He evidently gets this meaning from *axu*, "jackal"=barbaru, or perhaps from *axû*, "foreign"=nakru, *Hdw.*, p. 41. This meaning "foreign" comes from the original signification "another," which is the primitive sense of the sign *BAR-MAŠ* (Delitzsch, *Keilschriftsystem*, p. 141). *BAR-MAŠ*= "a side," hence "a brother, another, a foreigner, a strange beast." The same idea is seen with the value *maš* of *BAR-MAŠ*, i. e., *mašû*, "twin;" syn. of *tuâmu* (IV. 21, nr. 1, B. obv. 16-18; 30, 31; 32-24; Sc. 1, 4b, *ma-a-šu*=*tuâmu*). The plural verb in *ASKT.*, nr. 12, 5, 6: *nam-ba-te-ga-e-ne*, "they shall not approach," referring plainly to the *udu a(id)-dara-maš*, justifies me in translating *maš* as an unusual form



of the plural *meš*, especially employed here to indicate the vowel harmony. It is just as probable that *maš* may stand for *meš* as it is to find *in-di=illak*, with *di* as an evident modification of *du=alaku* in vowel harmony (IV. 30, obv. 2, 12). Cf. also *nib* for *nab*, following the same rule in *nu-mu-nib-bi* (ES.)=*ul iqabbi*, IV. 11, 31, 32. In the examples cited by Fossey, *dagal-la-meš* and *gal-gal-la-meš*, it is not at all improbable that *meš* here, although indicated by the sign *MEŠ*, was read *maš*. We have a parallel in *-aš* as the adverbial suffix in *tul-tul-aš=tilānis*, IV. 24, 38b, but *-eš*, in IV. 9, 15a: *gal-li-eš=rabiš* and *dug-gi-eš=ṭabiš* in IV. 13, 13b. See also *Br.* 10001.

§ 3. *ASKT.*, nr. 12, 7 (*JA.*, 1903, p. 145), I render *namku munnanttar*, "it is decided for fate." In note 1, Fossey states that *namkutur=šimtu* does not occur, as the regular form is *nam-tar*. He renders *nam-ku* here by *šaxluxtu*, "destruction," following IV. 30, 22a, where the word is a *ἄναξ λεγόμενον*, without *tar*. Now *nam=šimtu*, "fate," *Br.* 2103, and *tar=parāsu*, "decide," *Br.* 375. I regard the *-ku* in *namku munnanttar* as the complementary postposition (pronounced *šū*), and translate "it is decided for a fate." Cf. IV. 10, 39b: *šig-ga-ku mungi=ana damiqti tēr*, "turn it (the sin) for a favor," i. e., "change favorably."

§ 4. *ASKT.*, nr. 12, 8 (*JA.*, 1903, p. 146). Fossey objects to my statement regarding the infixation in Sumerian of the postposition. Thus, in IV. 12, obv. 5, *ud nam-ti-la-ka-na=ūmi balātišu*, he doubts my theory that *ka* can be genitive, basing his view on the statement of Amiaud, *ZK.* i. p. 237, that if the genitive determines a noun in the nominative or accusative, the genitive is expressed by the postposition *-ge(-kit)*, but if the genitive is found following a noun already in the genitive, or following a noun in the prepositional case, the genitive relation is expressed by *-ka*. Now, in the passage IV. 12, obv. 5, *ud* is in the accusative, hence he says that *-ka* cannot be the sign of the genitive. How then does Mons. Fossey explain the *-ka* in this *nam-ti-la-ka-na*? I note that he is content merely to cite Amiaud's rule without explaining this particular form. The grammatical rules of Sumerian are hardly as yet reducible to so close a norm, that we should be surprised to find an exception here and there. But let us assume that *-ka-* is *not* the genitive

in namtilakana. If it is a preposition "in" (so *Br.* 551, *ASKT.*, 141, nr. 4), Fossey has not disproved my main point in this case, i. e., that a postposition may precede the personal suffix in Sumerian. I presume that he is not prepared to regard this -ka- as a part of the stem? Furthermore, in the form tutu-da-na, *ASKT.*, nr. 12, 32, which I render "with her incantations," Fossey insists on separating da-na and translating it "with her." This is of course permissible grammatically, but makes no sense in the passage in question: dingir Nin-a-xa-kud-du nin tu-tu-da-na, "N. the lady of incantations with her . . . ." (so Fossey)? My rendering is "N. with or by her incantations (graciously) confirms it." This certainly makes better sense.

§ 5. *JA.*, 1903, p. 147. I inadvertently cited the form ki-ku-a-ni=ina šubtišu as an example of postpositional infixation. This of course does not belong here, as ku is part of the root=ašābu. Furthermore in um-ta-ē-na-zu-ku, V. 50, 13a, I state that na+ku=ina and that zu is the sign of the 2 p., infixed between the two postpositions na and ku. Fossey suggests that -na here is merely *une désinence verbale de e(n)*. This is possible in this particular instance which was not happily chosen by me, owing to the fact that ē(ud-du), "go forth," was probably originally ēn with final n.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, the -na in um-ta-ē-na-zu-ku may be simply the phonetic complement with a-vowel on account of the following zu-ku. On the other hand, how would Mons. Fossey explain bar-ta-bi-ku=ina axāti, "aside," in *ASKT.*, 98/9, 43? Here the double postposition ta+ku with the inserted -bi- is unmistakable.<sup>3</sup> What does Fossey say also to OBI. ii. pl. 39, col. II. 4, 5, a-ab-ba sig-ta-ta, "from the lower sea," with a double postposition -ta? Here -ta cannot possibly be a part of the stem.

§ 6. *ASKT.*, nr. 12, 13 (*JA.*, 1903, p. 149). Here I assert that dū-dū-a-bi cannot be imperative. The line reads: e-a šu-nag-a-ku gi urugal dū-dū-a-bi a-gub-bu gi-bil-la nin-na na-ri-ga lugal-e tur dingir-ra-na á(id)-zi-da

<sup>2</sup>In ordinary Sumerian the regular complement of ē(ud-du) is -a or e without an intercalated -n- (cf. *Br.* 7873 and the form ē-a-na=ina aḡēšu, IV. 14, 27b). On the other hand, all the evidences seem to show that the primitive form of ē(ud-du) was ēn. See Zb., p. 83; ZK. ii., p. 18, note 49, and especially Haupt, *ſſg.*, pp. 48, 49. This being the case the na ending in um-ta-ē-na-zu-ku is ambiguous and should not be cited in support of my view.

<sup>3</sup>Even if we regard -bi in bar-ta-bi-ku as a demonstrative, it is none the less an inseparable infix in this combination. We find the regular construction in IV. 28, 7a: bar-bi-ta=ina axāti.

á(id)-kab-bu u-me-ni-e, "when the urugallu has placed the reed in the house of purification, for the king, the son of his god, on the right hand (and) on the left let him bring forth pure water, a torch (and) the vessel belonging to the purification. The direct imv. with -bi suffix is certainly unusual and it seems that a better sense for the passage is secured by rendering dú-dú-a-bi like the Semitic construction ina šakānišu, "when he has placed" (cf. *ASKT.*, nr. 12, rev. 1: ra-a-na=ina alākisu). The usual ending of the imv. in Sumerian is -ab, -mab (see Prince, *AJSL.*, Vol. XIX, p. 221, § 44). King (*Magic*, p. 19) refers to this expression dú-dú-bi as being found at the commencement of most directions for certain rites interchanging with ak-ak-bi. As the construction is in every case dependent on a following direct imv. (see King, *op. cit.*, p. 16, 9, 10), I still prefer to regard the -bi- construction as *casus pendens*, as in Turkish: *oraya gidip kitabımı getir*, "go there and bring my book." Here *gidib* is *casus pendens* and may be used followed by any finite form.

§ 7. *ASKT.*, nr. 12, 14 (*JA.*, 1903, p. 149). Fossey's rendering of nin-na by "*brûle-parfums*" is better than my translation "whatsoever," i. e., nin=mimma+the demonstrative na. In King's *Magic*, pp. 19, 20, nin(ŠA)-na is clearly a vessel or measure of some sort.

§ 8. *ASKT.*, nr. 12, 16 (*JA.*, 1903, p. 151), Fossey plays with words. I state that dap&ru cannot strictly mean "purify," but rather "disappear" (*Hdw.*, p. 226). The general sense is the same here, whether we render "cause sin to disappear" or "purify sin." Fossey's reading kup-pu-ru for duppuru is of course possible, but not necessary in this passage, as the stem duppuru really exists and means much the same as kuppuru. See IV. 59, nr. 2, 19b: dup-pir lumni, "drive away my evil."

§ 9. *ASKT.*, nr. 12, rev. 4 (*JA.*, 1903, p. 154). Sikka sikka-barra dara lulimbi-ene sudku munib-ê-ne must indicate that the animals flee, i. e., are the subject of munib-ê-ne, owing to the pl. -ne. Why disregard the succession of plural nouns as Fossey has done?

§ 10. *ASKT.*, nr. 12, rev. 13 (*JA.*, 1903, p. 155). Here Fossey corrects me with justice. dingir Asaru igi is evidently an abbreviation for dingir Asaru igi immansi=Marduk ippalisma; cf. IV. 22, 48a.

§ 11. *ASKT.*, nr. 12, rev. 13 (*JA.*, 1903, p. 155). Giš-šub is never "arrow," in spite of Fossey's fanciful remarks. He cites my rendering of rev. 21 giš-šub-gim, "*comme le trait de l'arc*," in triumphant proof that I there regard giš-šub as meaning "arrow." Fossey's reasons (*Magie*, p. 473) that the context demands the rendering "arrow" or "dart" are unnecessary. Giš-šub-gim is simply a pregnant construction "like the bow," i. e., "like the "bow-shot." The regular Sumerian word for "arrow" is xal (see Delitzsch, *Keilschriftsystem*, pp. 75, 76).

§ 12. *JA.*, 1903, p. 156, note 1. Fossey accuses me of misrepresenting him (*AJSL.*, Vol. XIX, p. 187) in his translation of *ASKT.*, 87, 16. To this I plead guilty with much penitence. His translation of tappat̄tar in that passage is on the right track. The passage is as follows:

šatamma lūkul	"For a time may I eat.
šatamma lusti	For a time may I drink.
šatamma luḡlal	For a time may I lie down.
šatamma lustabri	For a time may I be satisfied.
lū tappat̄tar	O be thou loosened (from me)."

The verb tappat̄tar is plainly Niphal and is addressed to the plague or disease of the victim. "Be thou loosened" seems to me a better translation than "*sois mis en pièces*" (Fossey).

Finally, I take this opportunity to thank my amiable *savant contredicteur* for helping me to see a new light in several passages of this extremely difficult inscription, *ASKT.*, nr. 12, about which the last word has clearly not yet been said.

## SUBJECT INDEX.

(The numbers refer to the sections.)

Abbreviation, 10.	Du, 2.	maš, 2.
A(id)-dara-maš, 1; 2.	Du-du-a-bi, 6.	-meš, 2.
Axu, 2.	Ekimmu, 1.	-nab-, 2.
Alu, 1.	-eš, 2.	Nam, 8.
Amišu, note 1.	-ge, 4.	-nib-, 2.
-aš, 2.	Giš-xuldubba, 1.	Nin-na, 7.
Bar, 2.	Giš-šub, 11.	Plural, 9.
Bir, 1.	Imperative Ending, 6.	ŠA-na, 7.
Bir-gibillu, 1.	Infixation, 4; 5.	Šuttu, 1.
Bir-xuldubba, 1.	-ka, 4.	Tapaṭṭar, 12.
Būlu, 1.	Ki-ku, 5.	Tar, 8.
<i>Casus pendens</i> , 6.	-kit, 4.	Urṡu, 1.
Conflation, 5.	-ku, 8.	Utukku, 1.
Da, 4.	Lu-ti-la, 1.	Vowel harmony, 2.
Dapāru, 8.	-maš, 2.	-zu, 2.
Di, 2.		

## AN ETHIOPIC MANUSCRIPT OF JOHN'S GOSPEL.

BY EDGAR J. GOODSPEED,  
The University of Chicago.

Among the Oriental manuscripts in the Museum of the Newberry Library, Chicago, there is a copy of the Gospel of John in Ethiopic. The manuscript is a little parchment codex of eight quires, which contain one, six, five and a half, five, five, five and a half, six and six double leaves, respectively. In all there are eighty leaves. There are no page, leaf, or quire numbers. The single leaves measure 11 by 12.5 *cm.*, and the writing is in double columns, with fifteen to seventeen lines in a column. The parchment is lined in the usual way, and seems never to have been trimmed, as the pricks of the dividers are still visible in the margins. The hand is large and regular, and suggests a date in the fifteenth century rather than later. The text is divided into the usual number of chapters, although the chapter divisions do not always fall just where they do in Platt's edition (1830). The chapter numbers are in red and usually follow the chapters. The name **ጸፋስ** is also written in red, when it occurs. The book is in its original binding, being enclosed in thin boards, unlined, while the back is left open. The disputed pericope is present. Above chapter 10 (*fol.* 21, *recto*, col. 1) **ዘሐውስ** is written in a coarse, late hand. The manuscript's number in the Newberry Library is 83867. It was presented in 1899, by Mr. Ed. E. Ayer.

The first leaf, *recto* and *verso*, is blank except for some Ethiopic letters idly scrawled by a late hand on the *recto*. The second leaf has such scrawls on both sides, but was originally blank, except for the following imprecation, which stands at the top of the second *verso*:

**ዘመጽሐፍ : ዘተሳየጣ : በንጥፍ : ዘሰረቀ : ወዘፈሐቀ ፤**

**ሥግጦ፤ ጳጥሮስ : ወጳውሎስ : ይጉዝ : ለይኩን ፤**

'He who buys this book with his wealth, he who steals it and he who damages it, with the curse of Peter and Paul may he be smitten.'

**፤ ለ. ዘተሳየጣ :      ፤ fors. . ሠልገ፤ ፤ ፤ ለ. በውግዘተ :      ፤ ለ. ውጉዝ :**

On fol. 8, *recto*, the Gospel of John begins, after the following title:

በስራተ ለብ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ተራፍ፡ ረድእ፡ ተናጋ

ረ፡፡ በመለኮት፡. ፍሐንስ፡ ወንጌላዊ፡ ወልደ፡

ዘብደምስ፡ ፍቅር፡ እግዚእ፡ እየሱስ፡ ክር

ስተ፡ ጸሎቱ፡ ወበረከቱ፡ የገሉ፡ ገብ፡. . . . .

'The Gospel of the holy (and) excellent father, the disciple, the theologian, John the Evangelist, son of Zebedee, the beloved of our Lord Jesus Christ. May his prayer and his blessing be upon his servant. . . . .' The name has been erased.

The following collation with Platt's text, chapter 1, will suffice to illustrate the manuscript's type of text:

John 1:2 ወከማሁ፡ ቀዳሚሁ፡ *pro* ወዘንቱ፡ 3 ዙሉ፡ *praef.* ወ |  
ወኢምንተ፡ | ወዘ፡ *pro* እምዘኩ፡ 4 በእንተአሁ፡ ዙሉ፡ *add. ante*  
ሶቹ፡ | ኩ፡ *add. post* ሶቹ፡ 5 ውብርሃንሰ፡ *pro* ወ" | ወኢይቀርሶ፡  
*add. post* ኢይረከሶ፡ 6 ኧ *pro* አሐዱ፡ | ምንሰ፡ እግዚአብ *bis, ex*  
*errore* 7 *tr.* ከመ፡ ይኩን፡ ሰማዕተ፡ 9 መጽሐ፡ *pro* ዘይመጽእ፡  
10 ውውስተ፡ ንሰም፡ *om. ex errore* | ወንእለአሁሰ፡ *pro* ወእለአሁሰ፡  
12 ወእለሰ፡, *om.* ለ | እለ፡, *om.* ላ 13 ኢኩ፡ *pro* ኢኩ፡ | እም፡  
*om.* | ፈቃደ፡ *om.* | ሥጋ፡, *H om.* | ወኢእምሥረተ 14 ወኃደረ፡ ሌ(?)  
ዕሌሁ፡ | ወልድ *pro* አሐዱ፡ | ዘምሉእ፡ *om.* | ወጥንሰ፡ *om.* | ወጽድቅ፡  
15 ሰማዕተ፡ | እነ፡ በእንተአሁ፡ *om.* | ወውእቱ፡ *pro* ዘ | እስመ፡ ውእቱ፡  
ቀደመ፡ *om.* 16 ወ *pro* እስመ፡ | ዙል፡ *om.* | በደብ፡ ጸጋ፡ *om.* |  
ሰ፡ *om.* | ወጸጋ፡, *om.* ሰ | ሰ፡ *add. post* ኩ፡ 18 አላ፡ *om.* | ወው  
እቱ፡ *pro* ውእቱ፡ 19 አመ፡ *om. man. prim.; suppl. corr.* | ወሌዋ  
ውደን፡ | ወይዘለም፡ | መኑእ፡ 20 እም፡, *om.* ወ | ወኢክህደ፡ | ወአ  
ም፡ *om.* | ወክርስተስ፡ *pro* ክርስተስ፡ 21 መኑመ፡ *pro* መኑእ፡ | አ  
ንተ፡ *om.* | አልሶ፡ *pro* ኢኮንኩ፡ | ኢኮንኩ፡ *pro* አልሶ፡ 22 መኑእ፡  
*pro* መኑመ፡ | *tr.* እንከ፡ አንተ፡ | ናዩድአመ፡ | ወናጠይቀመ፡ ሰእለ፡ *om.*  
23 ወይዘለም፡ *pro* ወይዘ፡ | ንጥዳ፡ *pro* ዐጥዳ፡ 25 ተስአልም፡,  
*om.* ወ | እንከ፡ *om.* | ዘ *pro* ሰእመ፡ | ክርስተስ፡, *om.* 7 | ወኢኤልደስ፡  
*om.* 26 ዘኢተእምርም፡ 27 ሀሉ፡, *om.* ዘ | እምድንጊየ፡ *add.*  
*post* ሀሉ፡ | እምእገፊሁ፡—ወበእሳተ፡ *om.* 28 ወበማዕደተ፡ 29

<sup>1</sup> ረ ተናገረ፡

<sup>2</sup> *corr.; man. prim.* ሐዩሐንስ፡ *ut infr.*

<sup>3</sup> ክርስተስ፡

<sup>4</sup> ረ የሀሉ፡

<sup>5</sup> ረ በገብ፡

ፍሐንስ: *om.* | ሰእግዚእ: ሊየሱስ: *pro* ሰሊየሱስ: | ዘያሰሰል: *pro* ዘያሐት  
 ት: | ኃጢአት: 30 አ፤: *del. corr.* | ዘ *add. ante* እምቅድጃየ:፤  
 31 ወአልሶ: *pro* ወአንሰ: | ሊየአምሮ: | ሊያእመርፍ: | በእንተ: ዝንቸ:  
*pro* በእንተዝ: 32 በእምሳለ: *pro* ከመ: እንተ: 33 ሊየአምሮ:  
*pro* ሊያእምሮ: | ወይተብር: ደቤሁ: 34 ወሰልየ: *pro* ወሰሊየ: | ወል  
 ደ: *pro* ወልዱ: ሰ 35 ወ፤ *pro* ወክልኤቸ: | እምአርዳኤሁ: *pro* እም  
 አርዳኤሁ: 36 ርእፍ: *pro* ርእይዎ: | ሰእግዚእ: ሊየሱስ: *pro* ሰሊየሱ  
 ስ: | ዘያሐትት: ንጢአት: ንሰም: *om.* 37 እም *add. ante* አርዳኤ  
 ሁ: | ሰእግዚእ: ሊየሱስ: *pro* ሰሊየሱስ: 38 እግዚእ: *add. ante* ኢ  
 የሱስ: | ተኃሥሡ: 39 አሊቅ: *pro* ሲቅ: ብሂል: | ተኃድር: 40  
 የሐድር: (*ras. post* ሐ) | ወወንሱ: | ፤ *pro* ንሥፋ: 41 *tr.* ወ፤ ወ፤  
 እሰ: ሰምሁ: በንባ: ፍሐንስ: ወተሰውዎ: ሰእግዚእ: ሊየሱስ: ወውእቸኤ: እ  
 ንድርደስ: እኙሁ: ለሰምዎን:; ፤ ፋጥርስ: *om.* 42 ወሌሊሁ: አቅደመ:  
*pro* ወአቅደመ:; *om.* ወእቸ: | ሰማስደስ: *pro* ሰመሲሐ: | ደብልዎ: *om.*  
 43 እግዚእ: *add. ante* ሊየሱስ:፤ | እግዚአብሔር: *pro* ሊየሱስ:፤ | ወይቤ  
 ሱ: *pro* ወይቤሱ: 44 ደሐር:፤ *pro* ደሐር: | ገሌላ: *pro* ገሊላ: | ኢ  
 የሱስ: *om.* | እግዚእ: ሊየሱስ: *add. post* ወይቤሱ: 45 ራልደስ:  
*om.* | እምቤተ: *pro* ዘቤተ: | ዘሀገረ: *pro* እምሀገረ: 46 ሰፊልደስ:  
*pro* ራልደስ: | ሰእግዚእ: ሊየሱስ: *pro* ሰሊየሱስ: | ወነቢት: *pro* ወነቢ  
 ያት: | በእንተሁ: *pro* በእንተኤሁ:; *add.* ተነባዩ: 47 *tr.* ከመ: ይከ  
 ባእ: (*sic*) እምናዝሬት: *pro* እምናዝሬት: ደባእ: | ዘንተ: ሠናይተ *pro*  
 ጌር: 48 እግዚእ: *add. ante* ሊየሱስ: | እስራኤል፣ *pro* እስራኤላ፣  
 49 ተአምረኒ: *pro* ታአምረኒ: | እግዚእ: *add. ante* ሊየሱስ: | ይጸውአከ:  
*pro* ይጸውዐከ: 51 ወይቤሱ: እግዚእ: ሊየሱስ: ሰባ: *pro* ወአውሥአ:  
 ሊየሱስ: ወይቤሱ: እስመ: | ተአመን: *pro* ተአምንሁ: 52 እምይእኬ  
 ሰ: *add. ante* ተሬእዩ: | ይተረኃዮ: *pro* ይተረኒዮ: | የአርፑ: *pro* የዐር  
 ፑ:; *om.* እንዘ፤ | ወይርዱ: *pro* ወይወርዱ:

The manuscript is concluded by a brief subscription and a hymn to Mary, of rather pagan color. The subscription (*fol.* 79, *verso*) runs thus:

ተፈጸመ:

ብስራተ: ሐፍሐን

ስ: ወልደ: ዘብዳዎ

ስ: ሐጥርደ: ፤ እም ፤

፤. ፍሐንስ:

ወጸ ፥ ጸሐፋ ፡ በኖኖ

ዊደን ፡ በሰብላ ፡ ሀፃ

ረ ፡ ኤፋሶን ፡ እምድ

ጎረ ፡ ፀርገቱ ፡ ለእግዚ

እነ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሰማይ ፡

በሥጋ ፡ በፃፃመት ፡

በመንገድ ፡ ኒርን ፡

ንጉሠ ፡ ርም ። ።

'The Gospel of John the son of Zebedee, one of the twelve apostles, is finished. He wrote it in Greek(?) for the people of the city of the Ephesians, in the thirtieth year after the ascension of our Lord in the flesh into heaven, in the reign of Nero king of Rome.'

A line below is written the word **ዝመጽሐፍ** : in another hand, followed by a short erasure. Finally the rest of *fol.* 79, *verso*, and the *recto* of *fol.* 80 are occupied by the hymn or prayer to Mary already mentioned, which is so full of bad spelling as to be almost unintelligible. It begins—

እስገድ ፡ ለክ ፡ ከመ ።

ኃጢአት ፡ ታስተስር

ይ ፡ ማርያም ።

and ends—

ዘእወረደኩ ፡

ንሥረ ፡ ማርያም ፡

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# ŠUPAR, <sup>(amēl)</sup> ŠUPARŠÂḲ(Ū), <sup>(amēl)</sup> ŠAKŠUPP(BB)AR, AND RELATED TERMS.

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Two of the most interesting stems discussed in part 17 of the *Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language* (= DAL.), are שׁוּפַר and שׁוּפַר.

## I.

Šapâru in the meaning *to send, charge with a mission*; and, in particular, *to send word, message, order or command*, with or without following ma-a or um-ma, introducing the text of such message, etc., occurs innumerable times in the great *Corpus epistolarum* (= H.), edited by Professor Robert Francis Harper. In addition to the usual form of the preterite išpur we find also išpar; thus, Bu. 91-5-9, 210 (H. 403) rev. 2 *my servants and my friends* iš-pa-ru-u-ni, *have sent me*; K. 125 (H. 196) 18 ni-qa-bu-u-ni ar-ḫiṣ liš-pa-ru-ni.<sup>1</sup>

The two best known and most widely used derivatives of this verb are šipru and šipirtu. Šipru, in its meaning of *communication, message, report* sent by mouth of messenger or in writing, was borrowed in Hebrew as שִׁפְרוֹ *missive, document, writing, book*;<sup>2</sup> mâr šipri, *the messenger* (DAL., 582, cols. 1 and 2), variously written <sup>(amēl)</sup> mar šip-ri, Nabd. 562, 1, ma-ar ši-ip-ri; ma-a-ar ši-i-ip-ri, in T. A.; <sup>(amēl)</sup> A-KIN (ḲI); <sup>(amēl)</sup> A šip-ri; TUR šip-ri; in II R(awlinson) 39 g-h 47 as a synonym of ra-gab, i. e., rakab, c. st., of rakbu, *messenger*, Br(unnow, List) 6369; K. 574, obv. 9 (H. 123) <sup>(amēl)</sup> TUR šip-ra-ni-ia; Cyr. 44, 4 <sup>(amēl)</sup> TUR šip-ra-a-tum, *the messengers*; Nabd. 233, 12. In many passages also, the word means *business, occupation or calling, work or skill*. In addition to these two, generally accepted, significations, we find also the meaning *decision*; thus *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* (= KB.), Vol. II, pp. 252-3, 71 ina <sup>(arxi)</sup> Utlali

<sup>1</sup> Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch* (= Hwb.), pp. 682-5.

<sup>2</sup> On these two letters see PSBA., Vol. XXIII, pp. 348 sqq., and Vol. XVII, pp. 234 sqq., respectively.

<sup>3</sup> Gesenius, *Handwörterbuch*<sup>18</sup>; Brown-Gesenius, *Lexicon*, pp. 705-709; KAT.<sup>3</sup>, p. 649, etc.

ši-pir Ištarāti, +79; also perhaps l. 95 ši-pir maḥ-bi-e; cf. *KAT.*<sup>1</sup>, p. 427 and rem. 3. In the T. A. Letters the word occurs in the meaning of *number*; thus (London), 8, 42 much gold ša ši-ip-ra la ip(b)-šu; and lines 50, 51, 59. As *revelation* it is used in V R. 51, rev. 29-30 šip-ru rabu-u . . . . ša <sup>(11)</sup> Êa; IV<sup>1</sup> R. 48 a 7, 8; *KAT.*<sup>1</sup>, pp. 536, 537; and see *ibid.*, p. 538 rem. 3 on ši]-pir abqalli Adapa of L.<sup>1</sup> I, 13 (Lehmann, *Šamašsumuktn*, Zweiter Theil, pl. XXXVI). We may add to these the variant reading in Ašurb., col. iii, 121 Nabû dup-sar gim-ri ši-pir (*KB.*, Vol. II, pp. 186, 187 rem.). Also Messerschmidt, *Die Inschrift der Stele Nabuna'id's, Königs von Babylon* (1896), p. 64, 24 ki-i šip-ri ilu-ti-ka ša taš-pu-ra; Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, Vol. I, p. 493. A synonym of šipru is:

Šipirtu (AV. 8290), pl. šiprēti; Delitzsch, *Grammatik*, §§ 32 a a and rem.; 65, 4; *Prolegomena*, p. 149, in the meaning of *message, writing, letter*. It occurs in V R. 32 a-c 5, 6 ši-pir-tum (Br. 13861, 14081), followed by e-gir-tum. It is used frequently in letter-literature: K. 831 (H. 214), 12 šap-rak ši-pir-ti; rev. 7 ši-pir-ti liš-ša-'u, *let him take the letter*. 83-1-18, 28, obv. 7-9 (H. 344) ši-pir-ti (amél) māṭ tam-tim-u-a . . . . il-tap-ra-u-nu, *they have sent*; rev. 7-9 a-du-u a-na pa-ni šarri be-ili-i-ni ni-il-tap-raš-šu. K. 83, rev. 14 (H. 202); K. 13, rev. 4 (H. 281) ši-pir-ta-a pa-ši-ra-ti (*BAS.*, Vol. IV, pp. 527 *sqq.*). *KB.*, Vol. IV, pp. 94, 95, 27 kunuk šarri ša šip-ri-e-ti; also V R. 61, col. vi, 30, 31 and *KB.*, Vol. III, Part 1, pp. 182, 183 and rem. \* and \*\*; *KB.*, Vol. IV, pp. 68, 69, No. 1 b 19. K. 79, rev. 14, 15 (H. 266) ši-pir-e-ti a-ga-a ša ša-ra-a-ti ki-i ša šaṭ-ra, (*how*) *these treasonable letters were written*, Johnston, *JAOS.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 147. K. 1107, obv. 11 (H. 238) ul-tu šad-da-giš ši-pir-e-ti ma-'di-e-ti, *many messages*; see *PSBA.*, Vol. XXIII, Part 2. In T. A. Letters we find (Berlin) 112, 46 ib-bu-šu ši-bi-ir-ti šar-ri; 111, obv. 8, *the command of the king*. In the meaning of *work, skill*, etc., šipirtu is used in Knudtzon, *Gebete*, 1, obv. 10 ina mimma ši-pir-ti ni-kil-ti (see *DAL.*, p. 670, col. 1, below). K. 2852+K. 9662, col. i, 31 a-na ši-pir-ti-ja la ta-da-a li-it-ka.

Less common, than these two nouns are:

Šupru, Rm 2 II 9 šup-ru a-šap-ra, AV. 8002, and

šupāru, c. st. šu-par, AV. 8531. Their original signification is still discernible in T. A. (Berlin) 92, rev. 30 ša šu-u-pa-a-ra il-da-na-as, *who is to read the dispatch*. See also V R. 31 a 37 ʿa-a-tum u šu-par pi-i. In the meaning of *in command of, supervision over*, this c. st. šu-par is found in the Creation account, I c 27. Tiamat, the mother of the deep, the creator of all, revolted against the gods and created an army of monsters to assist her. *In addition to creating thus these eleven (monsters), she exalted among the gods her sons, whom she had borne, Kingu, and made him greatest among them all (saying): "To march before the host, this be thy mission; command the weapons to strike, the attack to begin."* The command in battle, (to be) chief in authority (šu-par ta-am-ḥa-ru ra-ab šik-ka-tu-tu),<sup>4</sup> she intrusted to him.<sup>5</sup> In this same meaning we find šu-par also in the titles of (amēl) šu-par-šāḫ(ū) and (amēl) šāḫ-šup(b)-p(b)ar, to be discussed further on.

Šu-par<sup>6</sup> in the meaning of *in control of, intrusted with, charged with* is found especially in connection with gods; thus,

<sup>4</sup> Tablet III, 41 (99) reads šu-par tam-ḥa-ri ra-ab šik-ka-tu(-u)-ti. The translation suggested here brings out most clearly the parallelism found also in Babylonian poetry. For šupar as a synonym of rab see further on. Šikkatum occurs in II, R. 43 a-b 7 šik-ka-tum=li-ki-e (√leḫū, 𐎶𐎵) li-ti. Litu, *victory, control, authority, jurisdiction* (DAL., p. 500) occurs often in Hammurabi (see King, Vol. I, pref. xlii) as ša li-ti-ka; and in the meaning of "territory under control or authority," e. g., li-tim ša ga-ti-ka, *the territory, province, under thy control* (Nagel, BAS., Vol. IV, pp. 449, 479). In T. A. Letters, Rostowicz 3, ll. 24, 25 li-tu an-nu-u il-ti-ka išt-tu ḫa-ti-šu, *this territory (or control of territory) has been taken out of his hands*. The rab šikkatu is the commander, chief in control; victor, at times. Thus Rm 338, obv. 5, 6 . . . GE-GE=ma-li[-ku]; [Š]IK-AT (or AD?)-GE-GE=ra-ab šik-k[a-ti]. An officer called rab šik-kat is mentioned in Nabd. 1069, 2. Šikkatu is derived from a verb šakaku, occurring in II R. 34 c-d 18=V R. 19 a-b 30 UD-DU (i. e., the ideogram of agū, etc.)=ša-ka-ku (Br. 7888; AV. 7800); V, 30 a-b 32 TIK-UD-DU-PA(=SIG)-GA=šakaku ša šik-ka-tim (Br. 3294, 7888). Its meaning would be, *to project, loom up, be prominent, supreme*. From the same verb we have GIŠ-BANSUR-ZAG-GU-LA=pa-aš-šur šak-ki, K. 4378, col. iii, 65 (Br. 6523); 60, paššur šar-ri (DAL., 846, col. 2); and, also šakkū a synonym of parqu (DAL., 836, col. 2, parqu, 2)=command, control, authority.

<sup>5</sup> See my translation of the "Babylonian Account of the Creation" in *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature*. Selected Translations. Edited, with a Critical Introduction, by Robert Francis Harper. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1901 (=the World's Great Books. Aldine Edition).

<sup>6</sup> Šupar is considered by many a non-Semitic word and read ŠU-UT(D) see KB., Vol. II, *passim*. Delitzsch, *Hwb.*, 643 and 648 assumes two different words *šud* (c. st., of šudū or šūdū?) from 𐎶𐎵 *be high, be prominent* (Creat. account, I, c 27; III, 41, 99; NE., 69, ll. 38, 39; and in šu-ud-šāḫ); and šātu, šāt, a pronominal particle. This differentiation, however, is unnecessary. See also ZK., Vol. II, pp. 187 *seqq.*, 289, rem. 2 (and, on the other hand, Flemming, *Nebukadnesar*, II, Göttingen, 1883, p. 37). Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 19, rem. 2: Šu-uṭ(d) deutet ganz im Allgemeinen eine Beziehung an; and pp. 28, 29, rem. 2, he derives it from šātu, *bear, carry*; a synonym of 𐎶𐎵(u), *over*; metaphorically = *concerning, with reference to*; or, if reading šud is better, from šuddu (√šadadu, *pull, draw*). Winckler reads šu-par, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, Vol. I, p. 536, etc.; and šu-pur, KB., Vol. III (2), p. 14; Sargon, p. 231. Bezold, ZA., Vol. IX, p. 116 šāt = *id est, namely*.

Asurb. col. i, 86 ilāni šu-par šamē erġitim; Neb. *EIH.*, col. ii, 60,<sup>7</sup> *the gods in control of heaven and earth, the gods of heaven and earth.* Nabd. *Scheil*, col. ix, 6. V R. 46 a 15, 16 (end) šu-par Ê-KUR; Rm 279, 12 (šuma-ša) apsi šu-par<sup>(11)</sup> Ê-a; K. 2148, col. iii, 3; Babyl. Chron., col. iii, 1 ilāni ša šu-par Uruk u nišē-šu. Šalm., *Balarwat*, col. vi, 1 (+3) ilāni šu-par Êsagila u Bābili; also Nabd.-Cyr. Chron., col. ii, 7 and 21.<sup>8</sup> Weissbach, *BAS.*, Vol. IV, p. 161, on Tallqvist, *Maqlā*, VII, 49. K. 3351, 18 ul-tu a-šur-rak-ka bēlum ilāni šu-par da-ad-me.<sup>9</sup> Accordingly, we would interpret NE. XI, 118 (125) ilāni šu-par<sup>(11)</sup> A-nun-na-ki<sup>10</sup> ba-ku-u it-ti-ša, *the gods controlling the Anunnaki wept with her*, the šu-par<sup>(11)</sup> A. belonging to ilāni rather than to bakū, which is usually construed with ana, *over*.<sup>11</sup> In the meaning of *concerning, with reference to*<sup>12</sup> it is used in: Merodach-Baladan stone, col. iii, 13 (ša) . . . šu-par ma-ḥa-zi ša<sup>(mat)</sup> Akkadi<sup>(k1)</sup> pi-šu ep(ib)-ši-ma (= *concerning*). Ašurb., col. vii, 25, *my messenger I sent šu-par še-bul*<sup>13</sup> Nabū-bēl-šume, *with reference to the delivery of N.* Line 16 of the same column has šu-par Nabū-bēl-šume. K. 621, rev. 1, 2 (H. 515) šu-par a-di e-mu-ki-šu. K. 2652, 9 šu-par mi-ri-ḥi-e-ti Teumman iš-tap-pa-ra; *KB.*, Vol. II, pp. 250, 251 l. 26 šu-par mi-ri-ḥi-ti an-ni-ti ša T. iq-bu-u.<sup>14</sup> DT. 83, rev. 14 šu-par ep-še-tu-šu-nu ul-qi-iš, Pinches, *Texts*, p. 16. Sargon, *Khors.* 158 šu-par it-ḥu-zu nin-da-an-šu-un

<sup>7</sup>So Ball in *PSBA.*, Vol. XI, referring to II R. 35 a-b 10 šī-pa-ri=pu-uh-ru, AV. 8286; see also Neb., col. i, 43 Nabā pa-ki-id kiššat šamē u erġitim.

<sup>8</sup>*KB.*, Vol. III (2), pp. 180, 182.

<sup>9</sup>Craig, *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts*, Vol. I, pl. 43. See Harper's review of Vols. I, II in this *JOURNAL*, Vol. XIV, pp. 171-7.

<sup>10</sup>According to Hrosny, *Mythen von dem Gotte Nimrag*, pp. 84 sqq., the "Black-Cloud" gods, while the Igri are the "White-Cloud" gods. Differing views are held by Jensen, *KB.*, Vol. VI (1), p. 548, and Zimmern in *KAT.*, pp. 452, 453.

<sup>11</sup>So against *KB.*, Vol. VI (1), p. 497, and *DAL.*, p. 152, and the literature there referred to.

<sup>12</sup>Šupāru, as šipru, meaning also *business, purpose*; šu-par, *with a view to, with reference to, concerning*.

<sup>13</sup>See the same column, lines 43, 44, where the messengers u-še-bi-la-aš-šu a-di maḥ-ri-ja. The word occurs also *KB.*, Vol. II, pp. 248, 249, l. 91 (amēl) rabē-šu iš-ta-nap-pa-ra a-na (=šū-par) še-bu-li nišē ša-a-tu-nu; 93, še-bul-šu-nu ul aq-bi-šu. Šēbulu is originally the infinitive of the Šafel of abālu (𐎶𐎵); Delitzsch, *Grammatik*, § 113). To the same stem belong the three rare nouns šābultu, *present*, T. A. (Berlin), 29, 12, 13; rev. 6; plural šu-bi-la-a-te-e ša u-še-bi-la (Berlin) 18, 14; šābultu, *desire, wish*, K. 2370, l. 2, 3; T. A. (Berlin), 9, 13; and šibultu, *goods for transportation*, *The Code of Hammurabi*, edited by R. F. Harper, p. 184.

<sup>14</sup>For meriḥtu see *DAL.*, p. 538, col. 1. The use of šu-par instead of eli, etc., perhaps with (conscious or unconscious) reference to the šipir meriḥti.

(Lyon, *Sargon*, p. 80 = *eli, concerning*); perhaps also *šu-par mu-ul-ka* in T. A., Tel Hesi, 20. *Ašurb.*, col. vi, 59 *maççarê šu-par Ê-KUR ma-la ba-šu-u* (*charged with, intrusted with*); II R. 67, 81 *u ça-lam ab-ni ma-çar šu-par ilâni rabûti* (*DAL.*, 574, col. i, ll. 3-6). *For, as*, IV<sup>a</sup> R. 48 a 33 *mur-ni-is-ki šu-par im-ra-šu-nu i-ku-lu*. As a relative pronoun, K. 3182, col. i, 49 *nap-ḥar mâtâte šu-par šu-un-na-a li-ša-nu*, with which compare IV<sup>a</sup> R. 20, No. 1, 24, *ḫit-ru-ba-aš-šu šu-par la maḥ-ra ma-la šu-un-na-a lišânu*.<sup>15</sup> K. 3182, col. iii, 12 *šu-par lum-nu i-pu-šu*, *as for those who do evil*; 13 *šu-par ul-la pi-i-šu-nu ša-kin*, *as for the boasting of their mouths*; 35 *ul tak-li šu-par im-ḥu[-ru-ka..]*, *who have prayed to thee*; i, 25 *šu-par na-piš-ti šak-nu* (*as many as*); iv, 1, 2; iii, 51, 52.<sup>16</sup> Merodach-Baladan stone, i, 42 *ina pu-ḥur šu-par ma-al-ku*; Creation account, I c 23 *i-na ilâni bu-uk-ri-ša šu-par iš-ku-nu[-ši pu-ux-ru]*; III, 37, 95.<sup>17</sup> S<sup>p</sup> II, 987, 5 *nam-kur šu-par Bâbili*, *the property of Babylon*. *Sargon, Bull-inser* 70: eight *nergallê tu-'a-a-me šu-par* (*of*=weighing) one *šar, nêr, six šûš, fifty gun*; *Ann.* 424.

NE. X, col. 2, 29 UR-NINIM (*amel*) *malaḥu ša Pir(?)*-*napištim ša šu-par abnê it-ti-šu*; col. 3, 38-9 *taḥ (tuḥ)-tap-pi šu-par abnê . . .*; *šu-par abnê ḥu-up-pu-ma*. *šupar* here, perhaps, a synonym of *tamšil*; or, meaning *work, monument*; an *idol of stone*, which Gilgameš, by accident, unfortunately breaks into pieces. This *šupar abnê* would serve as a talisman guiding Gilgameš safely across the ocean. UR-NINIM, it is assumed, intrusts the talisman to Gilgameš who unfortunately breaks it. Between lines 35 and 36 the original account contained probably this episode, which, having become in time illegible, was omitted by the later redactors. UR-NINIM, thereupon, suggests another way for Gilgameš to reach Pir(?)*-napištim*. This is given in the lines following (*KB.*, Vol. VI (1), pp. 220, 221). Whether Jensen's restoration of Tablet X,

<sup>15</sup> See Winckler, *Altor. Forsch.*, Vol. I, pp. 537-9 (1897); Martin, "Mélanges Assyriologiques," III, in *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, Vol. XXIV (1903), Parts 1/2, entirely overlooking Winckler's treatment of the same text.

<sup>16</sup> See Clifton Daggett Gray's careful edition of this hymn to Šamaš in this JOURNAL, Vol. XVII, pp. 129-45. [University of Chicago Dissertation.]

<sup>17</sup> *Šu-par* here, instead of *ša*, on account of *puḥru*. A rather strange use of *šupar* we find in I R. 68, No. 1, 8 *Ur* (11) *Uk šarri šu-par* (1, *KB.*, III, 2, 94 *ša*) *maḥ-ri* compared with the usual *šar maḥ-ri*.

col. 4, 15-16 and his translation are correct, is more than doubtful. If the explanation of šu-par abnē and its context, here suggested, is correct, it would be another illustration of the futility of human efforts to achieve the supernatural, and paramount to the episode related in Tablet XI (account of the deluge), lines 284 *sqq.* (see *KB.*, Vol. VI (1), pp. 250-52).<sup>18</sup>

Šupar is perhaps found also in šupar kûriš, Tigl-Pil., col. i, 55 *against sixty kings* šu-par ku-u-riš *I fought*. Kûriš c. st. of kûrišu from karāšu, *destroy, ruin*, or ẓarāšu, *cut, cut off*; unless we accept Jensen's interpretation of šutam-kûriš for šutamhûriš = *opposed, opposite*, from maḥāru (*KB.*, Vol. VI (1) p. 568). But why ku-u-riš?

## II.

Of the verb 𐎶𐎶𐎶 *to be high, lofty, grand* the preterite and present are found not seldom. IV<sup>2</sup> R. 60 \* B. obv. 5 u-s(ç)al-li<sup>(11a)</sup> iš-ta-ri ul i-šaq-qa-a ri-ši-ša. *KB.*, Vol. VI (1), p. 186, 46 ēpu-uš-ki aš-ša-aḫ(g, k)-ki ina Nippur, *I have made thee, I am lofty in Nippur* (but ??; see *KB.*, Vol. VI (1), p. 460). *Babyl. Chron.*, iii, 40 ki-i iš-qa-a ina eli Uru (*KB.*, Vol. II, p. 282). III R. 52, 49<sup>(11)</sup> Šamaš iš-gam-ma kakkabu iç-ru-ur-ma, Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 156: *Die Sonne stand hoch*. K. 86 rev. 5 i-ša-qa-am-ma; K. 120, A. 8 i-šaq-qa-ma, *is high*.<sup>19</sup> K. 685, 9-11; Camb. 217, 9, 10 it-ti aḥameš i-šaq-qu u i-šap-pi-lu, *together they will win or lose*, literally: *they will be high or low*. A derivative of šakû, *be grand, lofty*, is šakû, *magnate, high dignitary*. Sm. 61, 6 nadānu ša šarri tu-ub-bu ša ša-ki-i (Br. 7093). King renders it by *ruler*; Hommel, *Sumer. Lesest.*, 118, by *secretary of state*; Knudtzon: a high officer in the army. Here belong the (amēl) SAG-šarri, III R. 41 a 11, and often (AV. 8033); and the (amēl) rab-SAG-un-ḫi šarri K. 686, obv. 5 (H. 173), *keeper of the (great) seal*.<sup>20</sup> Also, the (amēl) šak-šup(b)-p(b)ar

<sup>18</sup> NE. VII, col. 4, 38 (43) read perhaps . . . šu-tam a-gi-e, who since days of old had ruled the country. Šu-tam would be c. st. of šutammu, a by-form of šatammu, just as we have tartānu and turtānu, targumānu and turgumānu, etc., unless we read na]-šu-ut a-gi-e, suggested by Jensen, *KB.*, Vol. VI (1), p. 462, proposed long ago, by Jeremias in *Die babylonisch-assyrischen Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*, Leipzig, 1887.

<sup>19</sup> R. C. Thompson, *The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon*, Nos. 91, 94; Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 119.

<sup>20</sup> (amēl) SAG, Knudtzon, 106, 15 and often; K. 1350, 55 (amēl) SAG-MEŠ; 48 (amēl) SAG. Perhaps connected with this is ša-ku, usually translated as *mayor*, or the like, and occurring, especially, in contract tablets (AV. 7813, 7818); *BAS.*, Vol. II, p. 262, 36; p. 269 on

(written LU-SAG-RU-MAŠ). I R. 66, No. 2, b, 10 Ba-u-ah-i-iddin(na) . . . . (amēl) šaḫ-šup-par, mentioned together with the ša-kin (governor) of Išin and Ba-bi-la-a-a-u, the (amēl) SAG (šaḫ), a Meru ša ṭe-mi, and a bēl paḥāti (KB., Vol. IV, p. 66). III R. 43 a 30 E (amēl) šaḫ-šup-par; b 6 (amēl) šaḫ-šup-par<sup>21</sup> ša ṭe-mi ša mātāti; edge of col. iv, 4 (amēl) šaḫ-šup-par ša bīt A-da. KB., Vol. IV, p. 90, 48 šaḫ-šub-bar, preceded by (amēl) šaḫ. The same component parts, only changed in their order, are in the other title (amēl) šu-par-šaḫ, probably correctly rendered *general, commander*. See IV<sup>2</sup> R. 48 b 7 um-ma-an u šu-par-šaḫ, *the army and the commander*. Sargon, *Nimrud*, 7 (amēl) šu-par-šaḫ-ia ina mux-xi aš-kun, *my general I placed over them*. II, 67, 10 (37) (amēl) šu-par-šaḫ-ia bēl paḥāti eli-šu-nu aš-kun, *my general I placed over them as governor*; 66 (amēl) šu-par-šaḫ-ia (amēl) rab-šaḫ (=רַב־שָׁחַק) I sent to Tyre, i. e., *my general, who was also the rab-šaḫ*. Tigl-Pil. III, Ann 50 (amēl) šu-par-šaḫ-ia (amēl) bēl paḥāti eli-šu-nu aš-kun. Sargon, *Cylinder 16* (amēl) šu-par-šaḫ<sup>22</sup> šu (amēl) šaḫ-nu-ti eli-šu-nu iā-tak-ka-nu-ma, *his generals he placed over them as governors*; other examples in Sargon occur often. K. 2729, 7 Ašurbanipal who turns with favor to his (amēl) šu-par-šaḫ<sup>23</sup> man-za-az pāni-šu. See also Ašurb. col. i, 128; ii, 15.<sup>24</sup>

(amēl) rab-šaḫ (written LU-GAL-SAG, Br. 12991) is another officer, connected by Delitzsch and others with šaḫû, *magnate, high dignitary*.<sup>25</sup> The word occurs in II R. 31 a 34 (amēl) rab šaḫ, followed by (35) (amēl) šaḫa (written SAG-MEŠ). K. 2729, obv. 11 (amēl) rab-šaḫ, +28 (KB., Vol. IV, pp. 143, 145: *general*), +rev. 19, 20, also K. 7, 5; K. 1359, 10.

Merodach-Baladan stone, col. iii, 36, 37; iv, 51. Rm III, 105, 1 b 8+10 (amēl) ša-ku together with (amēl) ki-pi. KB., Vol. IV, p. 94, 23 ša-ku mātī; Nabd. 170, 2; 962, 6; Neb. 103, 19. Sm 1028, 3 (amēl) ša-ku ša Bābili. Bu. 91-5-9, 183, rev. 4 (amēl) ša-ku MEŠ; + obv. 28; K. 517, rev. 11; plural: K. 1107, 9 (amēl) ša-ku-u-ti(?) = H. 418, 340, 327, 238. See also K. 114, obv. 12. Or √šakāku, 1(?)

<sup>21</sup> KB., Vol. IV, p. 70, considers (amēl) šaḫ-šup-par, here, a proper name; but see Belser, *BAS.*, Vol. II.

<sup>22</sup> See Guyard, *Notes de lexicographie assyrienne*, Paris, 1883, §33; Winckler, *Altor. Forsch.*, Vol. I, p. 476. On the basis of this reading, Andreas in Marti, *Grammatik des Bibl.-Aram.*, p. 58\*, emends Ezra 4, 9; 5, 6 אֶשְׁרֵי־כֹהֲנֵי into אֶשְׁרֵי־רַב־שָׁחַק; also Streck, *Z.A.*, Vol. XV, p. 394.

<sup>23</sup> Delitzsch, *Hebrew and Assyrian*, 13: *chief of the officers, or colonel*; *Heb.*, 655, col. 1: *Grammatik*, §§ 9, 131; 46; 72 a. Streck, *Z.A.*, Vol. XIII, p. 61, rem. 2 rab šaḫ ein unter dem Turan (רַב־שָׁחַק), dem assyrischen Generalissimus stehender, höherer Offizier.

(amēl) rab-šāḲḲ, Šamš. col. ii, 17; II R. 52 c-d 19; Rm 81, 83-1-18, 47, rev. 10 (Br. 6860, 12992; AV., 7446). 82-5-22, 169, rev. 9 ina māt (amēl) rab-ša-ki-e, this JOURNAL, Vol. XIII, p. 211. Zimmern, *ZDMG.*, Vol. LIII, pp. 116-8, and *KAT.*<sup>3</sup>, 651, explains rab-šāḲŮ as *chief cup-bearer, Obermundschenk.*<sup>34</sup>

<sup>34</sup>The rab in rab-šāḲ is paramount to the šu-par in šu-par-šāḲ, but šāḲ in the one case is derived from šāḲŮ, *be high, in control*, in the latter case from šāḲŮ, *give drink, water, pour out*.—It may be added here that *ZK.*, Vol. I, p. 62 (end) and *Rev. d'Assyriologie*, Vol. I, pp. 6, 7, read šu-tam-šāḲ, instead of šu-par-šāḲ. Šu-tam, as stated above, rem. 13, would be a c. st. of šutammu, a by-form of šatammu. Šu-tam-šāḲ would be something like *chief justice*. And, in order to exhaust the possibilities, šu-tum-šāḲ might be proposed; šu-tum a c. st. of šutummu *storehouse, warehouse, granary*. The šutummu šarri and bit šutum(mu) šarri are often mentioned on contract tablets. The šutum-šāḲ or *chief storehouse-keeper* would be an officer similar in character to the rab-šāḲ, the *chief cup-bearer*.



## THE ORIGIN OF THE NAMES OF THE AVESTA MONTHS.

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The system of nomenclature of the Iranian months is so different from the Indian terminology as to preclude any possibility of mutual influence. In the earliest Sanskrit source which names the months, the Yajur-Veda, they are designated by terms manifestly relating to the seasons of the solar year—*madhu*, *mādhava*; *çukra*, *çuci*; *nabhas*, *nabhasya*; *iş*, *ürj*; *sahas*, *sahasya*, *tapas*, *tapasya*.<sup>1</sup> These names manifestly fall into six pairs, denoting respectively "sweet, bright, cloudy, sapful, forceful," and "ascetic," referring to the six seasons of spring, summer, rainy season, autumn, winter, and the cool period which was especially devoted to the practice of religious austerities. The later Indian astronomy changed these names to Chāitra, Vāiçākha, Jyēṣṭha, Āṣāḍha, Ğrāvāṇa, Bhādrapada, Āṇvina, Kārttika, Mārgaṇirṣa, Pāuṣa, Māgha, and Phālguna, these being nakṣatra, or siderial names.<sup>2</sup>

In Iranian, on the other hand, the terminology of the months is essentially hierarchic.<sup>3</sup> The names are in order as follows: Fravartīn, Arta vahist, Horvadaṭ, Tir, Amerōdaṭ, Šatvairō, Mitrō, Āvān, Ādarō, Dīn, Vohūmān, and Spendarmat. The months

<sup>1</sup> Thibaut, *Astronomie, Astrologie und Mathematik*, p. 11; cf. Schrader, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, p. 396. On the various modes of naming the months among the Indo-Germanic peoples see *ibid.*, pp. 548-53. In the Sothis period of the Egyptians there was, in like manner, a division of the year into the three seasons of canal-tide, garden-tide, and harvest-tide, Faselius, *Altägyptische Kalenderstudien*, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Sewell and Dikshit, *Indian Calendar*, pp. 24, 25; cf. also their tables II and III, *ibid.*, pp. ciii-cvii. For the length of the individual months, which vary from twenty-nine to thirty-one days, see *ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> The names of the month are not found in the Avesta, but occur in the Pahlavi texts, in al-Biruni, Mas'udi, and in Byzantine Greek authors; see my section on the Iranian Calendar in the *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, Vol. II, pp. 675-8, and my article "Zu den byzantinischen Angaben über den altiranischen Kalender," *Byz. Z.*, Vol. XI, pp. 468-72. The origin of the names of the Avesta months has been made the subject of a study by Kuksa, "An Enquiry into the Order of the Parsee Months and the Basis of Their Nomenclature," in the *K. R. Cama Memorial Volume*, pp. 54-73. His conclusions, however, are very different from mine. In the same volume, pp. 146-53, Karkaria has drawn an interesting parallel between "The Parsi and the French Revolutionary Calendars," but his view that the Zoroastrian calendar may have influenced that of the French Revolutionists seems to me very improbable.

were, therefore, sacred respectively to the Guardian Spirits, Best Righteousness, Healing, Tishtrya (Sirius, the dog-star), Immortality, Desirable Kingdom, Mithra, Waters, Fire, Religion (the supreme lord, Ormazd), Best Mind, and Holy Concord. In this list, then, we find Ormazd and the six Amshaspands, or archangels, together with the chief objects of the Zoroastrian cult, Tishtrya, Mithra, Waters, Fire, and the Guardian Spirits or Fravashis. Several of these names, however, may be further reduced. Each of the Amshaspands has a double character, spiritual and physical.<sup>4</sup> The Avestan months may then be read as in honor respectively of the Guardian Spirits, Fire, Water, Dog-Star, Vegetation, Metal, Sun, Anahita (the Iranian goddess of fertility),<sup>5</sup> Fire, the Supreme Lord, Cattle, and Earth. This year, it must be noted, does not begin, as we should expect, with Dīn, the month in honor of the Supreme Lord, which commenced December 16, but with Fravartīn, the month consecrated to the Guardian Spirits, whose first day was March 21. Herein is a striking coincidence with the Babylonian year, which also began in March–April with the month of Nisān.

In Babylonia the year consisted, as is well known, of twelve months, each containing thirty days. To atone for the five extra days, which in Iran were added to each year and named in honor of the five Gathas, whence they were termed Gāh or Andargāh, the Babylonians intercalated a month, called Ve-Adar, every six years. This gives, however, an annual deficiency of one day and eleven hours. Every 124 years, therefore, another month was inserted, while the Iranians made a similar intercalation at the end of each period of 120 years. The fact that at a later period months of twenty-nine days alternated with those of thirty in Babylonia as in the Sinico-Japanese calendar (von Siebold, *Nippon*, 2d ed., Vol. II, p. 21), finds no parallel in Iran and need not detain us here, any more than the problem of the second Nisān and second Elūl. What is of importance in this connection is the fact that over each of the Babylonian months presided a deity or group of deities.<sup>6</sup> The lords of Nisān were

<sup>4</sup> See "Šāyast lā-Šāyast," XV, 5, and my paper on the double nature of the Amshaspands about to appear in the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the Ardui sūr Bānō Yasht (Yt. v.), in honor of Anahita (the 'Avalite' of the Greek writers) and the waters.

<sup>6</sup> See Muss-Arnolt, "The Names of the Assyro-Babylonian Months and Their Regents," *Jour. of Bib. Lit.*, Vol. XI, pp. 72-94, 160-76; Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 462-4, 676, 677.

Anu and Bel, of whom the former was the head of the Assyro-Babylonian pantheon (Jastrow, p. 677), primarily the sky-god, and the "father of the gods" (abu ilâni), while the latter was the god of earth, the "lord of countries" (bêl matâti), and also the "father of the gods," but likewise a god of death, punishment, and vengeance. The month of Âru was under the dominion of Ea, a benignant god and the sovereign of the waters, a fitting deity, therefore, for the rainy spring of April-May. Over the third month presided the moon-god Sin. If the name of the month Siwan or Simânu really signifies "signal, sign, trophy," it would seem to suggest the appearance of the crops, giving token of the coming harvest.<sup>7</sup> The deity of the month of Tam-mûz, himself a sun-god, who at midsummer (June-July) gains his greatest vigor, was Nin-ib, the morning sun. The month Abu which, as its name probably implies, was a month "for laying the foundation of cities and houses," was under the auspices of Nin-gish-zida, originally a solar deity, later identified with Ninguirsu, and finally with Nin-ib, who was at first the sun-god in his destructive aspect, then the storm-cloud, and at last, losing his meteorological character, the god of war, while, appropriate to the advancing summer, he presided also over the growth of trees (Jastrow, pp. 99, 217, 547, 588). Over the month of Ululu ruled Ishtar, a goddess of fertility, representing the culmination of the harvest. Shamash, the sun-god *par excellence*, is lord of Tishritum, probably from the fair weather prevailing in the autumn. Marduk, the herald of the gods and a solar deity, is lord of Marcheshwan, and Nergal, the god of war, rules over Kislimu.<sup>8</sup> Tebêtum is under the regency of Pap-sukkal, the messenger of Anu and Ishtar, as well as of Shamash and other gods; and if, as is possible, he is identical with Nabu, who is called "the lofty messenger, lengthening the days of his life," he may have this place as announcing the return of the spring and summer by the lengthening of the days after the winter. Ramman, "the thunderer," the god of storms, is the fitting ruler of the month of Shabaṭu, so called from the heavy and destructive rains and floods which prevail throughout it. During the month of Addaru these rains continue, so that the seven evil spirits appropriately are its lords.

<sup>7</sup> The month is also explained as "the time of appointing (brick-making)," from sâmu, "to appoint."

<sup>8</sup> The grounds of the regencies of Marduk and Nergal are not clear, Jastrow, p. 468.

In comparing the Iranian and Babylonian systems of nomenclature, there meets us at once a striking similarity and a divergency no less striking. The regency of sacred beings over the months, to which India and Greece have no parallel, immediately suggests Babylonian influence on Iran, an influence, which, in my opinion, is more profound than is generally supposed. Yet despite this similarity, there does not seem to be the same logical basis for the series of the divinities of the months. This is the more surprising since the conventional order in which the Amshaspands are named in the Avesta is not observed in the calendar of the months, while in the calendar of days it is strictly followed. The basis for this divergency in the case of the months is not easy to determine. It may be suggested, however, in the absence of any more plausible explanation, that the double nature of the Amshaspands, to which I have already alluded, may account for at least a portion of the assignments.

The first Iranian month, March–April, is under the regency of the Fravasis, “the Guardian spirits of the righteous,” who play an important part in the so-called Younger Avesta. If my supposition be right, they originally represent, beneath the later accretions which approximate them in many respects to the Platonic *idéa*, the ghost-cult, which must have been prominent before the Zoroastrian reform. To them, then, as to beneficent ghosts of the righteous dead, the first month of the year is appropriately dedicated.<sup>9</sup> The second month, April–May, is sacred to Aša Vahišta, who represents meteorologically the fire, although it must be noted that he is especially the healer of sickness (*Dinkart*, 8, 37, 14), who gives to drink of the fountain of life (*ibid.*, 7, 30, 14), and who, with Ahura Mazda, is the guardian of the world (*ibid.*, 9, 30, 14), having sovereignty in heaven (*Saddar*, XI, 5). The underlying idea of the dedication of this month to Aša Vahišta may be, therefore, the revivification of the earth after the death of winter. Over the third month, May–June, presides the archangel Haurvatāt, who represents in the material world the water, evidently in allusion to the vernal rains, which prepare the way for the coming harvest. The regent of the fourth month, June–July, is the dog-star Tishtrya,<sup>10</sup> whose

<sup>9</sup> Note on the possible later beginning of the year with *Dtn*, Both, *ZDMG.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 697–720.

<sup>10</sup> See Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, Vol. II, pp. 411, 420, 426; Casartelli, *Philosophy of the Mazdaean Religion under the Sassanids*, p. 82. The association of Tishtrya with rain does not seem involved.

helical rising occurs in the hottest part of the year, while the fifth month, July–August, was ruled by Ameretāt, who represents in her physical aspect vegetation, thus typifying the harvest time. The sixth month, August–September, had as a presiding genius the archangel Xšaθra Vairya, who is meteorologically the god of metals.<sup>11</sup> He is, furthermore, in this aspect the instrument by which channels are drawn (Vd. 9, 10; cf. 16, 6; 17, 6; Yt. 10, 125). This may then have referred either to the plow, in allusion to the new tillage after the gathering of the summer crop, or, more probably, to the tools used in building. If the latter hypothesis be possible, an analogue might be sought in the Babylonian Abu, the name of the fifth Babylonian month (July–August), which distinctly implies, as already stated, that this month was especially devoted to building. The Iranian building period would then be separated from the Babylonian only by a month. The seventh month, September–October, the last of summer, is under the lordship of Mithra, the deity of the sun, so that we have here an exact parallel with the seventh month of the Babylonians, which was under the governance of Shamash in allusion to the fair autumn weather. The regents of the eighth Iranian month, October–November, were the Āpō, or the waters, pointing evidently to the rainy season beginning in the autumn, and over the ninth month, November–December, rules Ātarš, the fire, obviously as the deity who gives protection against the cold of winter. The ruler of the tenth month, Dīn,<sup>12</sup> December–January, was the Supreme Lord, Ormazd himself. This has given rise to a conjecture,<sup>13</sup> which has hardly proved tenable, that the Iranian year originally began with the month of Dīn, instead of Fravartīn, especially as the first day of every month is

<sup>11</sup> An interesting coincidence, which is, of course, purely accidental, lies in the ascription of the autumn to the element metal in the Sino-Japanese calendar. See von Siebold, *Nippon*, 2d ed., Vol. II, p. 51.

<sup>12</sup> On Dīn, Dai, as equivalent to Ormazd, see Darmesteter, *Le Zā.*, Vol. I, p. 34, n. 2; Gray, *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, Vol. II, p. 671.

<sup>13</sup> A similar hypothesis has been advanced concerning the Babylonian year, but it seems on the whole improbable. It is worth noting in this connection that the Hindu and Roman years began, like the Babylonian and Iranian, in the spring. The Old Persian calendar began, according to Oppert, with the month Bāgayādiš, "honor to the god(s)," in October–November, but the fourth month, January–February, in a manner perhaps analogous to the Zoroastrian Dīn, was Anāmaka, "the nameless," doubtless in honor of Auramazda, whose name was regarded as a "name which is above every name." It is significant in this connection, that the month of Anāmaka is preceded by that of Āθiyadīa, "fire-worship," a concept precisely parallel to that of the Avesta Ātarš, who precedes Dīn. As the months Bāgayādiš, Āθiyadīa, and Anāmaka are the only ones in the Old Persian Calendar with hierarchic names, it is probable that there was a direct influence from one Iranian people on the other.

under the auspices of Ahura Mazda. Yet Dīn can hardly have been the first month, for the five intercalated Gahanbars fall just before the month of Fravartīn, exactly as the interpolated 29th of February precedes the first day of the original Roman calendar. Furthermore, all the sources thus far known are unanimous in making Fravartīn the first month, although this argument in itself is of little value in view of the late date of the authorities in question. Neither is another theory which has been proposed, that Dīn was originally the middle of the year, which therefore began with Ameretat (July–August), any more satisfactory than that which makes Dīn the first month.

Why Ormazd should preside over this month is an extremely doubtful problem. It can hardly be on account of the reminiscence of his original functions as a sky-god, for Anu, his Babylonian analogue, is one of the deities who presides over the first month Nisān (March–April). The only explanation which I can suggest is an extremely fanciful one, on which I myself lay little stress, presenting it only in lieu of none at all. It will be noted that, in conformity to Zoroastrian custom in general, no month is dedicated to an evil spirit. This would be giving recognition to Ahriman, a thing blasphemous to the Iranian mind, although the Babylonians could consecrate a month (Adar, or February–March) to the seven evil spirits. Now the only season of the year which was, according to the Avesta, created by Ahriman was winter, which extended from October 17 to March 20 (Darmesteter, *Le ZA.*, Vol. I, p. 37; Vol. III, p. 34; Būndahišn, 7). This season, “created by the demon” (*daēvo-dāta*, Vd. I, 3, cf. Bd. XXVIII, 1) is mentioned as a curse equal to the serpent, the special object of hatred to the Iranians as early as the time of Herodotus (I, 140). The heart of this period is the month which received the name of Dīn. May it be, then, that in conscious defiance of the power of Ahriman the center of the time of his power was made sacred to his great opponent and conqueror, Ahura Mazda? The lord of the eleventh month, January–February, is Vohūmān. The reason for his succession after Ormazd is evidently not meteorological but theological. This made clear by the Pahlavi texts which call Vohūmān the first creation of Ormazd (Bd. I, 23; Dāṭistān-I Dīnik, XL, 1; Dīnkart, 9, 38, 6; 9, 69, 47; 4, 4, 12; 7, 1, 4), while the Gathas term Ahura Mazda “the father of the Good

Mind," *i. e.*, Vohūmān (*vanhōuš pitarēm mananhō*, Ys. XXXI, 8; XLV, 4; *cf.* XXXVIII, 3). Vohūmān is, moreover, the special protector of the good creation (Dk. 9, 42, 10), and thus of the righteous man (*ibid.*, 9, 44, 12). It is he who brings revelation to man (Ys. XXIX, 7, and numerous other Gathic passages), and the blessings both of this life and of the life to come (Ys. XLVII, 3, and other passages in the Gathas). As the first born of Ormazd naturally succeeds him in the regency of the months, so in Babylonia the sky-god Anu is followed by Bel, who is pre-eminently the lord of man (Jastrow, pp. 141, 297), thus occupying a place in the Babylonian calendar like Vohūmān in the Iranian. The deity of the last month, February–March, is Spendarmaṭ. As Vohūmān is the son of Ormazd, Spendarmaṭ is his daughter (Ys. XLV, 4, see also the Pahlavi sources translated by West. *SBE.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 396, 401, 416; Dk. 9, 53, 29; 9, 69, 47). Meteorologically she represents the earth, and thus is essentially a deity of fertility, being furthermore associated frequently with women and marriage. She, therefore, appropriately presides over the opening of spring. In this way there is a regular succession from the last three months of the old year to the first of the new. The connecting link between the Supreme Lord and the earth is his chosen messenger and first-born child, while the guardian spirits who rule over both earth and man fittingly prepare the way for the new cycle of the seasons.

It is evident, in the light of what has been said, that there is a marked similarity in the spirit of the Babylonian and Iranian systems of nomenclature of the months. Both proceed on a twofold basis. In the main, meteorological functions and aspects determine the choice of deities to rule over the several months, yet, besides this naturalistic basis of selection, there are marked traces of a theological system, which is of later growth. The arrested development of this phase may be seen clearly in the Old Persian calendar as contrasted with the Zoroastrian.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> There seems to be at least one other instance of a calendar on the double basis of meteorology and theology in the ancient Aztec system, which named the twenty months of the Mexican year as follows: Atlacahualco, "want of water" (Feb. 2); Tlacaxipehualistli, "boning of men" (Feb. 21); Toxotontli, "short fast" (Mar. 13); Hueitōstli, "long fast" (April 2); Toxcatl, "dry, slippery" (April 22); Etzalcualtzi, "partridge" (May 12); Tecuilhuitontli, "little feast of the gods" (June 1); Hueitēcūilhuitl, "great feast of the gods" (June 21); Tlaxochimaco, "birth of the flowers" (July 11); Xocohuetzi, "fall of the fruits" (July 31); Ochpanistli, "month of brooms" (Aug. 20); Teotitico, "arrival of the gods" (Sept. 9); Tepēlhuītl, "feast of the mountains" (Sept. 29); Quecholli, "francolin

Yet there seems to have been no direct influence, but only the more subtle influence of dim reminiscence and of spirit, such as Babylonia exercised not over Iran alone, but over more distant Greece, so that from the most powerful nation of the ancient Semitic world, not from kindred India, came the system of terminology of the Zoroastrian months.

bird" (Oct. 19); Panquetzallitstili, "feast of the flags" (Nov. 8); Anemostili, "fall of the waters" (Nov. 28); Tititli, "severe weather" (Dec. 18); Izcalli, "resuscitation" (Jan. 7); Neomontemi, "empty, useless," the five epagonal days. See Hiart, *The Aztecs*, tr. Garner, p. 64. The Sinico-Japanese calendars seem to afford no analogies to the Babylonian or Iranian. See von Siebold, *Nippon*, 2d ed., Vol. II, pp. 22-25.



## THE GOËL IN RUTH 4:14, 15.

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The question who the Goël is in Ruth 4:14, 15 is a part of the problem which I discussed in an article on the "G'ullāh in the Book of Ruth" in Vol. XIX, No. 3 (April, 1903), pp. 143-8, of this JOURNAL. Two answers are possible: the Goël was either Boaz or Obed.

Bertholet (in Marti's *Kurzer Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*, Die fünf Megillot, p. 68) decides for Obed: "The Goël, for whose sake the women praise Naomi, is not Boaz, but because of הַיָּוֵד the new-born; to him refers also the suffix in הַיָּוֵד. He becomes Naomi's next Goël (who takes upon himself all the duties of such a one) because he is regarded as the son of her son Mahlon, being born of Mahlon's wife."<sup>1</sup> Nowack (in *Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*, "Richter, Ruth und Bücher Samuelis," p. 199) agrees with Bertholet.

It cannot be denied that there is some force in the arguments. Nevertheless, they are not convincing. And that for the following reasons:

In the first place, up to this point in the story it is Boaz who is the Goël of Naomi and Ruth, or better, Boaz is the one who is not only a Goël, but has also performed the duty of the Goël. This is emphasized all through the story; in fact, the whole of it hinges on it. In 2:20 Naomi remembers that Boaz is her and Ruth's Goël; in 3:2 she calls him "our Goël;" in 3:9 Ruth reminds Boaz of his duty as Goël; in 3:12 he acknowledges his obligation, and in 3:13 he declares that he is willing to perform the duty if the other Goël, who is a nearer kinsman than he, is unwilling, and in 4:10 *sqq.* he fulfils his promise. Surely, Naomi has not been left without a Goël, for the brave Boaz has acted faithfully as such. Indeed, the exclamation of the women,

<sup>1</sup> "Der Goël, um dessentwillen die Weiber Naomi preisen, ist nicht etwa Boaz, sondern wegen הַיָּוֵד der Neugeborene; auf ihn bezieht sich auch das Suffix in הַיָּוֵד. Er wird Naomi's nächster Goël (der nun alle Pflichten eines solchen auf sich nimmt) weil er als Sohn ihres Sohnes Machlon gilt, von Machlon's Weib geboren."

"Blessed be Yahweh, who hath not left thee this day without a Goël!" would sound rather strange, in the light of the previous story, if we should now have to suppose that Obed is meant and not Boaz. If the declaration is not made before the birth of Obed it comes decidedly too late. For she had already had the benefit of a true Goël in the person of Boaz. Moreover, "*the day*," to which the whole story moves from the beginning, is the day when the fortune of Ruth is made, that is, the day when Yahweh has not left Naomi without a Goël. It will be remembered that the whole planning of Naomi was to this end, that she might help Ruth to become happy. And this end was attained on the day of Ruth's marriage. It is true that happiness for the ancients would not have been complete without the birth of a son. Thus the culmination of Ruth's happiness is not reached until Obed is born, and indeed the climax of the story is not reached till we know that Obed becomes eventually the ancestor of David! But the whole story bears witness that Naomi had not been planning how to raise seed for her son Mahlon, but how to secure Ruth's fortune, and this was secured on the day when Boaz married her.

With this we have already touched the second objection to Bertholet's and Nowack's position. The marriage is not a Levirate marriage at all. The connection of the Levirate with the G'e'ullāh in the book of Ruth is not original, but due to a later interpolator. For the arguments of this assertion, I may be permitted to refer to the above-mentioned article, and also to an article on "*Die Leviratehe im Buche Ruth*" in the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1903, Heft 2. If this is accepted, then it follows that this Levirate element cannot be used as an argument and we cannot say any longer, "He will be Naomi's next Goël who takes upon himself all the duties of such a one, because he is regarded as the son of Mahlon, being born of Mahlon's wife," for according to the original story he is not Mahlon's, but Boaz's son; he is not the offspring of a Levirate marriage.

One other argument may be adduced against the identification of Obed with the Goël. It need not be denied that this third argument is rather more of a subjective character. If it is maintained that the Goël in vss. 14, 15 is Obed and not Boaz, we have the strange fact that the writer introduces the women twice and makes them say practically the same things twice, in vss. 14, 15 and in vs. 17a, only how much less forcibly in vs. 17! This

would provoke no comment with a great many writers, but can it be really assumed of a man who is one of the masters in the art of story telling, a man who by his wonderful art can charm even one of the world's greatest poets so much that he pronounces his story "Das lieblichste kleine Ganze, das uns episch und idyllisch erhalten wurde" (Goethe)?

This last point gives us a hint in what direction the solution of the difficulty must be sought. For it seems to me that somehow a little confusion has come into the text, which has made the difference of opinion possible. But this may easily be removed by rearranging the verses in the following order: vs. 14, 15a (to "old age"), 13, 17a (to "Naomi;" omit לו and וַיֵּשֶׁב), 15b, 16, 17b, so that the whole would read as follows:

And the women said unto Naomi, Blessed be Jehovah, who hath not left thee this day without a Goel; (and) let his name be famous in Israel; (and) he shall be unto thee a restorer of life and a nourisher of thine old age.

And Boaz took Ruth and she became his wife; and he went in unto her, and Jehovah gave her conception and she bare a son.

And the women, her neighbors, shouted, saying, There is a son born to Naomi! For thy daughter-in-law, who loveth thee, who is better to thee than seven sons, hath borne him. And Naomi took the child and laid it in her bosom and became nurse unto it. And they (the women) called his name Obed: he is the father of Jesse, the father of David.

This rearrangement removes not only the difficulty about the Goel, but makes the narrative better in two other points: (1) it removes the blemish in vs. 17 referred to above; (2) it gives a beautiful climax: first, all the people who were in the gate said, we are witnesses, then the elders offer their congratulations to Boaz, Ruth and Naomi being, of course, not present at the gate-scene, and then the women come to Naomi and rejoice with her over Yahweh's kindness to her and praise Boaz.

If this suggestion is valid, the question confronts us, How did the confusion existing in the present Hebrew text come about? Was it accidental or intentional? It cannot well be due to an accident or to the carelessness of a copyist, because there is system in it. The person who is responsible for it intended to create a definite impression on the readers of the story, and he has succeeded so well that even such scholars as Bertholet and Nowack cannot get away from it. The impression is that the marriage that has here taken place is a Levirate marriage. In

other words, the confusion is due to the interpolator of the Levirate passages. Originally there was nothing of the kind in the story, but by a few touches, which he added here and there, and by the rearrangement of vss. 13-17 the interpolator has brought it into the text. As the text now stands the Goël in vss. 14, 15 seems to be as Bertholet and Nowack assert Obed and not Boaz ("today" comes after we have been told that Ruth had borne a son), and, moreover, the reasoning that Obed is regarded as Naomi's son, because by virtue of the Levirate he is Mahlon's son, has some foundation, *if the verses are taken by themselves* as they stand—but into what a number of inconsistencies this will involve us has been shown in the above-mentioned articles. Originally the Goël was Boaz and not Obed, and the sentence, "a son is born to Naomi," has no Levirate implication. Nor is the adoption of Obed by Naomi implied in the statement, "And Naomi took the child and laid it in her bosom and became nurse unto it."

But what is the reason for these Levirate interpolations? That is a question which is bound up with the larger question in regard to the age and the purpose of the book. Of late it has become fashionable to regard the little book as a polemical treatise which originated in the struggle of the two parties at the time of Ezra's and Nehemiah's vigorous reaction against the intermarriage of Jews and foreigners. It is the protest of the liberal party against the extreme actions of these reformers. The story meant essentially the following: You strict rigorists assert that such marriages are absolutely forbidden and call down the wrath of Yahweh; have you then altogether forgotten how Yahweh has blest in a most wonderful manner the marriage of Boaz and the Moabitess Ruth, which was exactly one of those marriages that you oppose so vehemently? Do you not remember that they became *David's* ancestors?! Can you then rightly say that Yahweh curses such marriages?

This hypothesis is very attractive indeed, for it supplies a historical situation for the origin of the book. But it is to be noticed that there is absolutely no indication of polemics in the book; and no special stress is laid on the fact that Ruth is a foreigner, at least not as much as we should expect in a polemical treatise. Still, that might very well be an evidence of supreme art. The book would thus be all the more convincing. But it

must not be overlooked that the objector might reply, "Yes, but this was an extraordinary case; Boaz, you will agree, would never have married the Moabitish woman if he had not been obliged to do so by the ancient custom of the Levirate." It does not seem possible that the author who wrote this story for this polemic purpose should have laid himself open to such an objection.

Now we have seen that the Levirate idea is not an original part of the story, but has been inserted later on. It may perhaps still be possible to maintain so much of the above hypothesis that the book was *used* in this controversy by the opponents of Ezra, and that it was felt to be quite a weapon in the conflict. In order to take away this weapon from the liberal party one of the rigorists inserted the few apparently harmless interpolations about the Levirate, inserted them so finely that they would probably be taken merely as little hints bringing out the meaning of the text more clearly, if they were at all noticed; and now by virtue of these interpolations it was possible for the rigorists to ward off the attack by referring to the altogether extraordinary case of Boaz. Mahlon and Chilion, who had taken Moabitish wives, had really sinned thereby—so they might now say—as you can clearly see by the swift punishment that has overtaken them: both die and leave no children; plainly the result of Yahweh's wrath! But Boaz cannot help marrying Ruth; he was bound by the ancient law of the Levirate. You cannot cite his case as a parallel.

It will be seen that the interpolator has succeeded very well in carrying out his plan. That we would today not rest content with this answer, but press further, need not trouble us here.

## Exploration and Discovery.

### REPORT FROM BISMYA. I.

Dr. E. J. Banks, Field Director of the Expedition (Babylonian Section) of the Oriental Exploration Fund of the University of Chicago, has reported that the excavations at Bismya began on December 25, 1903, and that they are now proceeding to his full satisfaction. With the commissioner, one servant, and a consular kavass, Dr. Banks left Bagdad by carriage for Hilleh on December 11. December 13, in company with Koldewey, he spent examining excavations at Babylon, and on the following day he visited Birs Nimrud. The party reached Diwanieh on December 15, and presented their letter to the muttessarif. No obstacles were placed in their way, and the authorities claimed that it would be unnecessary to take a large guard to Bismya. With two mounted and four foot-soldiers, and four workmen from Diwanieh, the party started for Bismya on December 17, and on the second day reached the village of Segban, the sheikh of the El-Bedin Arabs in whose territory Bismya is located. They were received hospitably by the chief, and on the following day Dr. Banks, with about twenty horsemen, spent a few hours at the ruin, which is three hours from the village. It was the intention of the Field Director to begin the excavations with about forty men, but on account of the numerous Montefik Arabs who had wandered north to escape the fighting about Nasarieh, the country is unsafe. Segban, who has been informed by the Turkish authorities that he will be held responsible for the safety of the party, was cautious and insisted that it would be unwise to remain at Bismya with less than sixty armed workmen. On December 22 men were placed at work upon two wells in what Dr. Banks believes to be the bed of the old canal Shat en-Nil, and also of a later stream which dried up at the breaking of the Hindieh dam. On December 24 work was begun on two more wells, and on the 25th water sprang up through a hole made by a workman's pick, and the water was sweet. The third well progressed slowly. On December 28 water was also found in it. Thus one of the difficulties which have kept excavators from Bismya is settled, and there is every indication that the water will suffice for every season of the year.

Bismya is a very large ruin, only Nippur, Warka, and perhaps Babylon surpassing it in extent. Its height does not exceed twelve meters, but it is considerably higher than Telloh, Fara, and other ruins where excavations have been successfully made. The length of the entire group of mounds, including a small low hill two hundred meters or so to the northwest, is 1,695 meters; the width is 840 meters. In a general way, the ruins form a rough oblong square. The square may

be described as consisting of two parts, separated by a valley running east and west. The northern part, which is by far the larger, is lined on its western edge by nearly a dozen high circular mounds, as if representing so many buildings apparently overlooking the canal. The hill gradually slopes away to the east, which Dr. Banks believes to be the old necropolis. The southern part is not extensive. Its highest hills are in the southwest corner. Dr. Banks is of the opinion that the mound has not been inhabited since Babylonian times. There are no walls visible above the surface; the few heaps of brick which the Arabs have collected have been mistaken for walls. The surface of the mound is smooth, and has not been dug over by the Arab antiquity hunters, as have been most other Babylonian ruins, for Bismya is so far from water, and in so dangerous a locality, that a single man, or a small company of men, could remain there for only a few hours at a time.

Excavations are proceeding with a force of one hundred men. As yet only the surface has been scratched, and in no place have they gone to a greater depth than two meters; but wherever they dig they come upon some wall or tomb. The men, some of whom have worked in every ruin in Babylonia, agree that Bismya is by far the richest and the easiest to excavate. The results which are so rapidly coming in are evidence of this.

The Arabs have given the Field Director much trouble. There is a dispute about the ownership of the site of Bismya, and letters have passed between the Field Director and the sheikh of the Montefik.

Bismya is an exceedingly rich ruin, and there is not a yard of it without something of interest. The excavations have already demonstrated what the ruins contain, and if funds were available to employ several hundred workmen, not only would the security, which just at present is very uncertain, be perfect, but the entire ruin could be satisfactorily excavated before the expiration of the irade. The expense of the staff, which is by far the larger part, would not be materially increased.

ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER,  
*Director.*

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DIE ZEICHEN DER KRITIKER DES ALTERTUMS.

VON PROFESSOR ED. KÖNIG, PH.D., D.D.,  
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Wenn wir von "Kritik" hören, so sind wir leicht geneigt, sie für eine moderne Tätigkeit zu halten. Aber sie war noch älter, als die Kritik, die von Aristarchos und andern im 2. Jahrhundert vor Chr. in Bezug auf die Gedichte Homers ausgeübt wurde. Denn Thontafeln, die in der Bibliothek Assurbanipals (668-626) zu Kujundschik gefunden worden sind, enthalten an verschiedenen Stellen solche Bemerkungen, wie die folgenden: "gemäss seinem Original geschrieben und revidiert," oder "verlöscht" oder "verwischt" oder "ich weiss nicht."<sup>1</sup> Was ist das anderes, als eine Art kritischer Bemerkungen? Und auch in diesem Punkte stehen die alten Hebräer den andern Völkern nicht nach. Im Gegenteil ist vielleicht Jeremia der erste gewesen, der die komparative Methode der Forschung ausdrücklich empfohlen hat. Ich denke an seine berühmten Worte "Geht hinüber nach Kittim (d. h. westwärts) und geht hinüber nach Kedar (d. h. ostwärts) und sehet wohl zu, ob dort so etwas geschehen ist etc.!" (2, 10-13). Jedenfalls enthält schon der Psalter die kritische Bemerkung "Zu Ende sind die Gebete Davids, des Sohnes Isai's" (Ps. 72, 20). Ferner hat der Enkel des Siraciden mit kritischem Blick die griechischen Übersetzungen hebräischer Schriften mit diesen verglichen, wie der Prolog zeigt, den er der eigenen Übersetzung der Sprüche seines Grossvaters vorausgeschickt hat.<sup>2</sup> Besonders

<sup>1</sup> Carl Bezold, *Niniveh und Babylon* (1903), pp. 122, 124.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. mein Buch "Die Originalität des neulich entdeckten Sirachtextes" (1899), p. 14.



interessant ist aber die folgende Tatsache. Wir lesen im Traktat Sopherim VI, 4 etc.: "Drei Bücher sind im Vorhof gefunden worden: in einem fand man geschrieben elf *hū'* und in zweien elf *hī'*, und man erklärte die zwei für gültig, aber das eine setzte man ausser Geltung."<sup>3</sup> Es war also noch vor der römischen Zerstörung des Tempels, dass Gelehrte im Vorhof sassen, wahrscheinlich in einer der Kammern, welche die Innenseite des inneren Vorhofs umgaben, und *Manuskripte verglichen*. Übrigens dass es solche des Pentateuchs waren, ersehen wir aus dem, was über die Ergebnisse dieser Vergleichung von Handschriften in jener Stelle gesagt ist, weil es ja bekannt ist, dass im Unterschied von 195 Stellen elf andere Stellen des Pentateuch die Form *hī'*, den gewöhnlichen Ausdruck für "sie" (she), darbieten.

Aber welches waren die *Mittel*, durch welche die Urteile dieser alten Kritiker *angezeigt* wurden? Nun die *assyrischen* Schreiber der Zeit Assurbanipals haben ihre Meinung, dass eine Stelle im Texte verderbt sei, mit einem deutlichen Ausdruck, wie "ausgewischt" oder dergleichen, ausgesprochen. Kaum hierher zu ziehen sind die senkrechten Striche, die hie und da in den Amarna-Tafeln begegnen, nämlich teils in Fällen, wie U | A-RU-U "und ich fürchte" (*Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, V, p. 149, Zeile 28) und teils vor kanaanitischen Äquivalenten babylonischer Ausdrücke, wie in ILIPPI | ANAJA "Schiffe" (Brief 196, Zeile 28). Anders war die Praxis der *griechischen* und römischen Kritiker. Ich war erstaunt, als mich mein berühmter Kollege Hermann Usener auf die Menge von Zeichen aufmerksam machte, die von Aristarchos und andern Kritikern gebraucht worden sind. Eine Sammlung dieser Zeichen liegt vor im Anhang der Ausgabe des sogenannten *Lexicon Vindobonense*, die August Nauck veröffentlicht hat (Petropoli 1867). Da findet man zuerst die Abhandlung "Grammaticus romanus de notis veterum criticis" abgedruckt, und z. B. der wagerechte Strich, der ὀβελός (eigentlich: "Bratspiess"; bei Hieronymus: VERU) wird dort so definiert: "Ὁ ὀβελός πρὸς τὰ ἀθετούμενα ἐπὶ τοῦ ποιητοῦ,<sup>4</sup> ἡγουν νεοθευμένα ἢ ὑποβεβλημένα" (*loc. cit.*, p. 272). Dieses Zeichen deutete also an, dass der darauffolgende Teil des Textes gleichsam durchbohrt werden solle. Als solches Zeichen der Tilgung wurde der Obelos

<sup>3</sup> Der vollständige Text mit allen Variationen der verschiedenen Stellen ist übersetzt und erklärt in meiner *Einleitung in das AT.*, p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> Der Dichter κατ' ἐξοχήν ist Homer.

bekanntlich auch von Origenes bei der Herstellung seiner Hexapla verwendet, wenn die LXX seiner Zeit ein Plus gegenüber dem MT seiner Zeit enthielt. Dagegen ein sternartiges Zeichen (*ἀστερίσκος*)<sup>5</sup> lenkte natürlicherweise die Aufmerksamkeit auf einen Teil des Textes wegen seiner Richtigkeit oder Neuheit, und solche Teile waren Worte, die als Übersetzung eines Plus des MT in die LXX eingefügt wurden.<sup>6</sup> Endlich die Zeichen der jüdischen Kritiker waren einigermassen ähnlich, aber nicht gleich.

Das Verfahren, nach welchem die jüdischen Kritiker ihre Urteile anzeigten, kann in Kürze so beschrieben werden. Erstens nahmen sie die Vokalzeichen zu Hilfe, um ihre kritischen Urteile auszudrücken. Konsonantenkomplexe, die nicht anerkannt werden konnten, wurden einfach nicht mit Vokalen oder sonstigen Lesezeichen versehen. So wurden diese Konsonantenreihen als nicht zu lesende charakterisiert, und schon die Talmudisten sprachen von Kethib w<sup>o</sup>lo k<sup>r</sup>é (alle Fälle sind aufgezählt in meiner Einleitung, pp. 31 sq.). In andern Stellen, wo es sich um die Änderung oder Beseitigung einzelner Konsonanten handelte, verwendete man die *Überpunktierung* dieser Buchstaben als Anzeichen einer kritischen Maassnahme. Diese Operation ist schon in der Mischna erwähnt.<sup>7</sup> Solche Überpunktierung ist keine isolierte Erscheinung. Man könnte vermuten, dass dieser Gebrauch des Punktes mit *στίγμα* und *στιῤευ* (stechen, durchbohren) zusammenhänge, und dass so der lateinische Ausdruck EXPUNGERE (= DELERE) entstanden sei. Indes ist auch dies zu bedenken, dass "in der ältesten Zeit die Null durch einen Punkt dargestellt wurde."<sup>8</sup> Freilich in den *Sanskrit-Grammatiken*, wie in der von Stenzler § 6, hat die Null die Form eines Kreises, aber "die Kreisform ist sekundär" (Jacob, *loc. cit.*), obgleich sie schon im Jahre 125/6 der Hedschra erwähnt wird, indem ein Beduine, der zu desertieren entschlossen ist, in einem Gedichte sagt: "Wahrlich mein Name wird bei der Musterung einen

<sup>5</sup> Bei Nauck, *loc. cit.*, p. 272, liest man: "Ὁ ἀστερίσκος καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὡς καλῶς εἰρημένον τῶν ἐπῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τόπῳ, ἐνθα ἔστιν ὁ ἀστερίσκος μόνος." Dies ist gesagt, im Unterschied von ὁ ἀστερίσκος μετὰ ὀβελού, wodurch angezeigt wird "dass die betreffenden Worte zwar vom Dichter stammen, aber an dem betreffenden Orte nicht richtig stehen, aber an einem andern Orte."

<sup>6</sup> Man kann diese Praxis des Origenes z. B. studieren an Δανιὴλ κατὰ τοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα ex codice Chistiano edidit H. A. Hahn.

<sup>7</sup> Der Wortlaut der Stellen wird in meiner *Einleitung*, etc., pp. 32 sq., gelesen.

<sup>8</sup> G. Jacob, *Oestliche Kulturelemente im Abendland* (1902), p. 11.

*Kreis* erhalten."<sup>9</sup> So erklärt sich der Umstand, dass ein kleiner Kreis, den man unter dem Namen *circellus* kennt, als Anzeichen des Verdachts gewählt wurde, den die Kritiker gegen die Existenzberechtigung eines Textelementes hegten. Neben einem solchen Kreis bekam in den jüdischen Handschriften natürlicherweise auch ein *Asteriskus* die Funktion, auf eine andere Lesart hinzuweisen. Übrigens ist es nicht ganz richtig, wenn neuerdings gesagt wurde, dass diese beiden Zeichen der jüdischen Kritiker keinen Namen besäßen.<sup>10</sup> Wenigstens das hebraisierte ἀστερίσκος existiert in der dissimilierten Gestalt אַסְטֵרִיָּקוֹס.<sup>11</sup>

Diese bisher aufgezählten Zeichen der jüdischen Kritiker waren schon immer bekannt und anerkannt. Aber in neuerer Zeit hat man mit steigender Bestimmtheit noch ein anderes Zeichen, das im A. T. begegnet, als eine kritische Note auffassen zu dürfen gemeint. Dies ist die *senkrechte Linie*, die פֶּסֶקֶיִם heisst, dessen Stellen sorgfältig gesammelt sind in folgenden beiden Arbeiten: Chr. D. Ginsburg, *The Peseḳs throughout the Scriptures* (1902) und James Kennedy, *The Note-line in the Hebrew Scriptures* (1903), Appendix (pp. 117–26).

Vielleicht der erste, der das Paseḳ als ein kritisches Zeichen geltend machen wollte, war Justus Olshausen. Er sprach in seinem *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache* 1. (und einziger) Teil, § 43 die Meinung aus, dass das Paseḳ mehrfach an Stellen auftrete, wo sich mit Grund vermuten lasse, dass kleine Teile des Textes, die einst am Rande gestanden hätten, an unpassender Stelle in den Text gerückt worden seien. Vielleicht seien solche Elemente des Textes schon am Rande durch senkrechte Striche abgetrennt gewesen. Diese Meinung ist sehr ausgebildet worden von v. Ortenberg in *ZATW.* (1887), pp. 301–12, aber wieder Franz Prätorius behauptete nichts weiter, als dass das Paseḳ, dessen nächster Zweck sei, Wörter aus logischen oder auch graphischen Gründen auseinanderzuhalten, zum Teil ein verkannter Abkürzungsstrich sei und zum Teil auch eine ursprüngliche Randglosse abgrenze. Dagegen die Ansicht, dass das

<sup>9</sup> Übrigens CIFRA, wie die Null seit dem 12. Jahrhundert im Lateinischen und weiterhin genannt wird, kommt vom arabischen SIFRUN "leer," das schon in vorislamischen Gedichten getroffen wird. Aug. Fischer hat dies in *ZDMG.*, 1903, pp. 786 sqq., durch reichliche Beispiele erwiesen. Er erinnert gewiss mit Recht daran, dass das SUXŪN, das Zeichen der Vokallosigkeit eines Buchstaben, ursprünglich die Form eines kleinen Kreises besass.

<sup>10</sup> Weir, *A Short History of the Hebrew Text of the O. T.* (1899), p. 122: "circle and asterisk, which has no name."

<sup>11</sup> Dalman, *Neuhebräisch-aramäisches Wörterbuch* (1901), p. 28. Andere Beispiele solcher Dissimilation sind erörtert in meinem *Lehrgebäude*, II, p. 465.

Pasek überhaupt ein kritisches Zeichen sei, ist neuestens ausgebildet worden von James Kennedy in dem oben erwähnten Buche *The Note-line in the Hebrew Scriptures* (1903) und von Hubert Grimme in folgenden Arbeiten: Psalmenprobleme (1902), pp. 166–95; Pasek-Studien, veröffentlicht in *Biblische Zeitschrift*, Vol. I (1903), pp. 337–48 und Vol. II (1904), pp. 28–49.

Ein begründetes Urteil über die Bestimmung des Pasek kann nach meinem Ermessen nur auf die folgende Weise gewonnen werden.

Auszugehen ist von dem Ganzen der hebräischen Lesezeichen und von etwaigen semitischen Analogien. Nun besitzt das überlieferte System der hebräischen Lesezeichen eine *wagerechte* Linie, und diese bedeutet *innerhalb* von Wörtern, wo sie bekanntlich *Raphè* heisst, dass der unangestrengte Lauf des Sprechens sich fortsetze,<sup>12</sup> und *hinter* Wörtern erinnert diese Linie (unter dem Namen *Maḳḳeph* „verbindend“) daran, dass diese Wörter, weil eines Haupttones entbehrend, ohne Verstärkung der Stimme auszusprechen sind. Die Kombination der wagerechten und der senkrechten Linie des Systems der hebräischen Lesezeichen ist nicht bloß natürlich, sondern wird auch durch folgenden auffallenden Umstand empfohlen. Das Berliner Manuskript, das nach alterer babylonischer Art punktiert und von Paul Kahle in seinem wichtigen Buche *Der massoretische Text des A.T. nach der Überlieferung der babylonischen Juden* (1902) zu Grunde gelegt worden ist, zeigt weder von *Maḳḳeph* (und *Metheg*) noch auch von *Pasek* eine Spur (p. 11).

Was nun ist dem gegenüber der natürliche Zweck einer *senkrechten* Linie, und welche Funktion wird von der senkrechten Linie im System der hebräischen Lesezeichen indertat verwaltet? Sie macht unter dem Namen von *Metheg* *innerhalb* von Wörtern den Leser darauf aufmerksam, dass er den Vokal der Nebentonsilbe nicht allzu kurz aussprechen soll, oder dass er nach dem Aussprechen der Silbe des Haupttones die Stimme nicht gar zu sehr sinken lasse, wie z. B. hinter *Mûnach* in מִנַּחֲ Gen. 18, 2 (ed. Baer-Delitzsch). Sie gesellt sich auch zu dem Trenner *Zaḳeph* und macht ihn zum *Zaḳeph gadol*, und sie begleitet das Zeichen für das Versende (*Soph Pasûk*). Ein senkrechter Strich begleitet auch im Samaritanischen die beiden Punkte, von denen die einzelnen Verse getrennt werden, am Schlusse von

<sup>12</sup> Dies ist lautphysiologisch in meinem *Lehrgebäude*, Vol. I, p. 41, entfaltet.

Abschnitten, wie z. B. hinter Gen. 1, 5.<sup>13</sup> Ein *zwischen* den Wörtern stehender Strich begegnet regelmässig in den minaeo-sabäischen Inschriften, nur werden — was ausserst interessant ist Procliticae nicht abgetrennt,<sup>14</sup> was auch in altaramäischen Inschriften<sup>15</sup> und im Äthiopisch der Handschriften und im Indischen vorkommt (mein *Lehrgebäude* II, p. 523, Anm. 2). Nur zwischen Satzgliedern oder ganzen Sätzen zeigt sich ein vertikaler Strich in folgenden Literaturprodukten: in der *Mesa-Inschrift*, Zeile 30 sq., sonst am Satzende (der Strich in Zeile 16 ist zweifelhaft, wie Smend und Socin in ihrer *Ausgabe*, p. 14, Anm. 1 bemerken); in babylonisch-assyrischen Keilschrifttexten zwischen Subjekt und Apposition, oder auch zwischen den einzelnen Hebungen von Gedichten (meine *Stilistik etc.*, pp. 336 sq.), oder vor kanaanitischen Glossen etc. in den Amarna-Tafeln (s. o., p. 2).

Alle diese Gegensätze und Analogien des senkrechten Striches, der in hebräischen Texten *zwischen* Wörtern getroffen wird, geben den Schluss an die Hand, dass auch dieser Strich die Funktion der Trennung besitzt.<sup>16</sup>

Dieser Schluss wird weiter durch den *Namen* dieses Striches unterstützt. Denn dieser stammt von dem Verb פָּסַע, das die Bedeutung "Abschnitte machen" besitzt, wie man aus dem Satze "Ein Exemplar der Thora, das man mit Abschnitten (Versen) versehen hat (פָּסַעוּ), in dem sollt ihr nicht lesen" (Sopherim 3, 7) ersieht. Darnach bedeutet Pasek "abschneidend, trennend," wie das passive Partizipium Pāsûk einen "Abschnitt" (κόμμα) bezeichnet.

Die Richtigkeit dieses Urteils wird sodann durch eine tatsächliche *Wirkung* dieser Linie bestätigt. Eine Untersuchung aller Paseks des Buches der Genesis, die ich in der *Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft etc.* (1889), pp. 225 sqq. veröffentlicht habe, hat mir dies gezeigt. Nämlich während diese Linie hinter Wörtern, die einen trennenden Akzent besitzen, nicht gesetzt wird, hebt sie hinter Wörtern mit verbindendem Akzent die Verbindung auf. Dies erkennt man so. Wenn ein Wort, das

<sup>13</sup> Petermann, *Grammatica linguae Samaritanae*, § 10.

<sup>14</sup> Hommel, *Südarabische Chrestomathie*, § 6.

<sup>15</sup> Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik* (1898), pp. 202 sq.

<sup>16</sup> Wenn statt des Pasek-Striches in einzelnen Fragmenten des alttestamentlichen Textes ein Punkt links unten hinter dem betreffenden Worte auftritt (P. Kahle in *ZDMG.* 1901, p. 181), so besitzt dieser Punkt seine nächste Analogie in dem Worttrennungspunkt, der in der Mesa-Inschrift, der Siloah-Inschrift, in samaritanischen Texten usw. regelmässig angewendet wird.

mit verbindendem Akzent und darauffolgendem Pasek versehen ist, vokalisch auslautet, so wird eine eventuell folgende litera Beghadhkephath doch nicht als Engelaute, sondern als Verschlusslaut gesprochen und daher mit Dagesch lene versehen. Dies wird an einem Falle, wie **אֱלֹהִים | הוֹלֵלוּ** (Gen. 37, 2), ersehen. Denn das erstere Wort ist mit Mûnâch ausgestattet, aber wegen der folgenden senkrechten Linie (Pasek) wird trotz des vorausgehenden Vokals doch **ת** nicht spiriert.

Mit alle dem stimmen endlich auch die Äusserungen zusammen, in denen der Zweck des Pasek von den alten Grammatikern der Juden beschrieben worden ist. Denn § 28 der *Dikdûkê ha-ṭʿamîm*, der mit allen Belegen in meinem *Lehrgebäude*, I, pp. 122 sq. übersetzt ist, sagt, dass Pasek in folgenden fünf Gruppen von Fällen zur Trennung dienen solle: a) bei gleichem Auslaut und Anlaut zweier auf einander folgenden Wörter; b) beim Nebeneinanderstehen gleicher Ausdrücke, also bei der sogenannten Epizeuxis; c) bei Gottesbezeichnungen; d) bei syntaktisch nicht zusammengehörenden Wörtern, und e) bei Wörtern, die mit verbindendem Akzent versehen sind, aber doch nicht zu eng verknüpft werden sollen: z. B. bei zwei Mûnach (Num. 3, 38), bei Aufeinanderfolge von Qadma und Darga (Jos. 19, 51), oder bei fünf Mûnach (Esr. 6, 9). Pasek wurde also in dieser ältesten Grammatik des Hebräischen und so auch in der späteren Tradition<sup>17</sup> als ein Lesezeichen, als eine Direktive für den Vortrag betrachtet. Der zwischen zwei Wörter gesetzte Strich sollte da, wo durch ein verbindendes Beizeichen oder gar durch die Aufeinanderfolge ebendesselben verbindenden Beizeichens die Gefahr nahegelegt war, dass durch die rasche Verknüpfung der Worte ein Bestandteil der Rede in seinem lautlichen Werte oder in seiner ideellen Bedeutung (bei Gottesnamen!) oder in seiner syntaktischen Beziehung alteriert werde, dem Leser gleichsam zurufen, dass er trotz der Anwesenheit der verbindenden Akzente diese Gefahr vermeide.

Kann diese Deutung des Pasek, die nach mehreren Gesichtspunkten wohl gestützt ist, gänzlich dadurch umgestossen werden, dass sie nicht in allen den Fällen begegnet, welche in die erwähnten fünf Kategorien gerechnet werden können? Nein, nur von einem Mangel an Konsequenz in der Setzung dieses

<sup>17</sup> Z. B. in *Ochla we-ochla*, § 242, im *Mikne Abram* von Balmes, p. 300, in Luzzatto's *Grammatica della lingua ebraica*, § 135, in J. M. Japhet, *Die Accente der heiligen Schrift* (1896), § 70.

Vortragszeichens kann gesprochen werden, und diese Inkonssequenz, die durch Varianten von Manuskripten erwiesen wird,<sup>18</sup> ist bei einem so subtilen Vortragszeichen verzeihlich. Übrigens aber sind die Fälle, die von Grimme (*Psalmenprobleme*, p. 168) angeführt werden, keine Beweise solcher Inkonssequenz. Denn die Ausdrücke *חַיִּל לְמַלְחָמָה* (Ps. 18, 40) sind durch das bei *חַיִּל* stehende Tiphcha initiale getrennt. Ferner *אִיבָרָה* (Ps. 92, 10) hat beim ersten Worte entweder Azla mit Pasek (van der Hooght u. a.) oder Pazer (Baer-Delitzsch), also einen trennenden Akzent. In *בָּלֵב וְלֵב* (Ps. 12, 3) aber sind die beiden gleichen Ausdrücke durch "und" getrennt.

Indes die vorhandenen Fälle des Pasek können ja nicht alle aus den überlieferten Gesichtspunkten erklärt werden, ruft man uns entgegen. Ich antworte, dass dies zunächst festzustellen ist, und ich habe in der oben erwähnten systematischen Untersuchung aller Paseks der Genesis gezeigt, dass der *phonetische* und der *hermeneutische* Gesichtspunkt zu ihrer Motivierung ausreichen. Es sei erlaubt, diesen Versuch hier in teils abgekürzter und teils verbesserter Gestalt zu reproduzieren, weil die Leser den Wunsch haben dürften, meine Auseinandersetzung vergleichen zu können!

Pasek begegnet a) hinter *Merekha* bei *אלהים* vor א (3, 14; 30, 20), also so gut, wie vor Vokal, sodass Gefahr war, den Ausdruck "Gott" mit dem folgenden Worte gewissermassen zu einem einheitlichen Ausdruck zu verschmelzen.

b) Hinter *Mânach* wegen besonderer Beschaffenheit des Auslautes und Anlautes 1, 21 (*חַיִּיךְ* | *חַיִּיךְ*); 18, 15 (*כִּי* vor י); wahrscheinlich ebenfalls wegen Zusammenstosses ähnlicher Laute in *יְמִי* | *יְמִיךְ* 5, 4. Weiterhin sollten getrennt werden מ und א (also Spiritus lenis, demnach im wesentlichen ein vokalischer Anlaut) 42, 21, נ und א 43, 11. Pasek steht ferner bei der Aufeinanderfolge ganz gleicher Wörter, also bei Epizeuxis: *אבריהם* | *אבריהם* 22, 11; *יום* | *יום* 39, 10 und *יעקב* | *יעקב* 46, 2; aus *vokalischen* Gründen, wie mir scheint, nämlich zur Erklärung des Cholem (statt *Kames chatûph*) bei *כָּל* 2, 5 und *בָּכַל* 7, 2; 8, 20; zur Verhinderung des Zusammenstosses zweier Tonsilben 29, 9; zur Hervorhebung des Gottesnamens *יְהוָה* (übrigens vor י) 22, 14, also aus *ideellem* Anlass; ferner, wie es scheint, aus *syntaktischen* Gründen: 17, 14 bei *זָכָר* | *וְזָכָר* "und ein Unbeschnittener" (nämlich oder versteht sich) "ein Männlicher," also vor einer Apposition, die einen Konditionalsatz "wenn oder insofern er zum Kreise der männlichen Volksglieder gehört" abkürzt; ferner in 18, 21 hinter *עָשָׂה*, weil es dort nicht richtig

<sup>18</sup> James Kennedy, *loc. cit.*, p. 104.

wäre, wenn dass folgende פָּלָה als Objekt genommen würde, während es ein Adverbiale im Sinne von "ganz und gar" (vgl. meine *Syntax*, § 332b) ist. Pasek dient also dort zur Verhütung einer sinnlosen Verbindung aufeinanderfolgender Worte. Ebenso steht es in 19, 9 hinter וַיֹּאמֶר zur Abtrennung einer direkten Rede, die einer Einführungsformel entbehrt; ebenso 23, 6; vor einer längeren Apposition 28, 9, und vielleicht vor einer pleonastisch erscheinenden Apposition in רְאוּבֵן | אֱלֹהִים 37, 22; ferner zwischen zwei hinter einander stehenden Mûnach, demnach zur Verhinderung einer allzu raschen Verknüpfung der Worte 1, 29 (vielleicht zugleich mit dem Gedanken an die folgende Alliteration); V. 30 (vielleicht zugleich zur Schützung des Cholem von לָלֵל); 14, 2; 15, 1, hier um so sicherer wegen der Aufeinanderfolge der beiden Mûnach, als bei ganz demselben Wortlaute 22, 1, in Abwesenheit des zweiten Mûnach, kein Strich gesetzt ist; 17, 20; 21, 14, hier erst hinter dem zweiten Mûnach, vermutlich weil zugleich die beiden Lippenlaute מ und ב getrennt werden sollten; 22, 12; 23, 17; 24, 7. 30; 26, 18. 28, hier wieder erst hinter dem zweiten Mûnach, weil verhindert werden sollte, dass der Gottesname achtlos mit dem nächsten Worte zusammengesprochen werde; V. 32; 29, 13; 30, 32; 31, 33. 51; 32, 23; 36, 12; 37, 2. 20; 38, 24; 39, 23; 40, 19. 20 (zweimal); 41, 5. 22 (39, 23; 40, 20; 41, 5. 22 beim Zusammentreffen zweier Haupttonsilben). 48; 45, 5. 15; 48, 7; endlich hinter dem ersten und zweiten von drei aufeinanderfolgenden Mûnach 7, 23; 19, 14 und hinter dem ersten Mûnach bei der Aufeinanderfolge von drei verbindenden Accenten (Mûnach, Darga, Mûnach) in 31, 29.

c) Pasek wird hinter Darga gefunden bei אֱלֹהִים 2, 21 zur respektvollen Abtrennung des Gottesnamens; ebenso bei אֱלֹהִים vor א 2, 22, bei אֱלֹהִים vor נ 30, 8, wo der Strich den Missklang der zweimaligen gleichen Lautfolge נִפְתַּח mildern, oder den Gedanken fernhalten sollte, dass es sich am Jabbok um einen Kampf gegen die Gottheit gehandelt habe. Pasek begegnet weiterhin bei יְהוָה vor א 12, 17; bei עֲלִיָּה 14, 15 vor ל, damit eine Assimilation der Laute מ und ל verhindert werde, und aus demselben Grunde hinter אֱלִיכָם vor ל 42, 22. Bei יְמֹול | יְמֹול 17, 13 sollten die ähnlichen Wörter auseinander gehalten werden. Das Pasek von שָׁרָה | לֵאמֹר 18, 15 hat wahrscheinlich den Zweck, das darauffolgende לֵאמֹר etwas mehr zu separieren, da es zum vorhergehenden Ausdruck "und sie leugnete" nicht so unmittelbar gehört, wie zu dem sonst vorangehenden "und er redete" etc. (8, 15 etc.). Pasek hinter Darga dient endlich zur Trennung von Subjekt und Prädikativum (אֱתֵר | אֱתֵרָה) in einer komplizierteren Wortfolge 42, 13, allerdings zugleich vor א, d. h. so gut wie vor Vokal.

d) Pasek wird getroffen hinter Mahpakh bei אֱלֹהִים vor ל 1, 5. 10 und vor א 1, 27 und 21, 17, wo infolgedessen starke Gefahr bestand, dass die Gottesbezeichnung nicht mit gebührender Scheu vom nächsten Worte abgesondert werde. Speziell das Pasek vor אֱתֵרָה 23, 6 sollte verhindern, dass die Worte so klängen, wie wenn Abraham als "Gott"



angeredet würde. Sodann wird Pasek wieder bei אלהים vor dem flüssigen Laute L gefunden 46, 2, während ELOHIM vor L und sogar vor מ kein Pasek hat, weil ein trennender Akzent dabeisteht 1, 8; 3, 8. 13. Ferner bei ויחמר vor לא, wo dieses den Sinn der direkten Rede "nein" besitzt, dient Pasek zur syntaktischen Trennung der beiden nebeneinander stehenden Ausdrücke 18, 15.

e) Hinter *Schalscheleth*, welches für sich allein, ohne einen folgenden Strich, ein verbindender Akzent im sogenannten poetischen System der Akzente ist,<sup>19</sup> erscheint der senkrechte Strich in 19, 16 beim plötzlichen Wechsel des Numerus und hinter einem Satze, der nur aus einem Worte besteht; 24, 12 vor einer Gottesanrufung; 39, 8 hinter einem Satze, der nur aus einem einzigen Worte besteht und doch sehr inhaltreich ist, daher nicht hastig zu lesen ist, nämlich ויחמר "und er willigte nicht ein."

Wenn aber in andern Stellen des A. T. die phonetische und hermeneutische Art, das Pasek zu erklären, gar nicht anerkannt werden kann, nun dann ist immer noch zu fragen, ob diese Art der Erklärung vollständig aufgegeben werden muss. Denn an sich war es gewiss möglich, dass ein Haltzeichen, welches sich zunächst auf die Art des Vortrags bezog, zu einem Zeichen der Kritik wurde. Ein Zeichen, das den Leser zuerst in Bezug auf die phonetische und syntaktische Richtigkeit des Vortrags dirigieren wollte, konnte dann auch zu dem Zwecke gesetzt werden, seine Aufmerksamkeit auf die seltsame und inkorrekte Art des Textes zu lenken. So konnte dieser Strich den Sinn eines Ausrufszeichens bekommen.

Indertat habe ich mich davon überzeugt, dass die Bedeutung dieser senkrechten Linie in einem Teile ihrer Fundorte über den Zweck, eine phonetische oder eine hermeneutische Direktive zu bieten, hinausgeht. Denn wenn in Gen. 47, 29 gesagt ist: "und (Jakob) rief seinen Sohn Joseph," so ist der Ausdruck "seinen Sohn" durch ein vorausgehendes Pasek höchst wahrscheinlich als pleonastisch und möglicherweise als eine Interpolation charakterisiert. Ebendasselbe Urteil ist mit höchster Wahrscheinlichkeit in Bezug auf das Pasek vor ואיבן 37, 22 zu fallen. Ferner bei dem ויחמר 1, 29 ist sehr wahrscheinlich darauf hingewiesen, dass das in V. 11 sq. gebrauchte מריץ zu erwarten ist und der Lippenlaut מ vielleicht hinter dem Lippenlaut ב übergegangen worden ist, wie eine Vertauschung dieser beiden Laute ja im A. T. und sonst tatsächlich vorliegt (vgl. DIMON Jes. 15, 9 mit DIBON Num. 21, 30 usw. in meinem *Lehrgebäude* II, p.

<sup>19</sup>Gegen Wickes, *A treatise on the accentuation of the twenty-one so-called Prose books of the O. T.*, p. 121.

459). Bei תִּרְצִי Ps. 68, 17 ist durch den Strich sehr wahrscheinlich ausgedrückt, dass diese Form aus תִּרְקִי verderbt sei. Dies scheint mir Kennedy *loc. cit.*, p. 62, richtig gesehen zu haben.

Aber es giebt zunächst einen formellen Grund, der es mir schwer macht, den Spuren v. Ortenbergs, Kennedy's und Grimme's durchaus zu folgen, und dieser Grund liegt in der Meinung, die von diesen drei Gelehrten über den Platz des kritischen Pasek ausgesprochen worden ist. Nämlich schon v. Ortenberg sagte, dass diese Linie "in der Regel gegen die Mitte eines kritisch verdächtigen Wortkomplexes, nach dem ersten oder zweiten Worte, aber nie ans Ende" gesetzt worden sei (*ZATW.* 1887, p. 305), und die beiden neuesten Vertreter der kritischen Funktion des Pasek haben eine ähnliche Meinung über den Platz desselben ausgedrückt (Kennedy *loc. cit.*, p. 22 und Grimme in *Biblische Zeitschrift*, I, p. 345). Indes ist dies nicht sehr unnatürlich und nicht auch dem entgegengesetzt, was wir in Bezug auf den Platz des Obelos, des Asteriskos und des Metobelos beobachten? Denn die beiden erstgenannten Zeichen stehen am Anfang einer kritisch in Anspruch genommenen Stelle, aber der Metobelos, wie schon sein Name besagt, an deren Ende. Das Verfahren, das die Redaktoren der hebräischen Literatur in Bezug auf ihren senkrechten Strich eingeschlagen haben sollen, würde also der natürlichen Praxis anderer Kritiker widersprechen.

Diese Platzfrage, um mich so auszudrücken, hat auch Grimme lebhaft beschäftigt. Er weist darauf hin, dass der Codex A des hebräischen Sirachtextes den Circellus "über einem Worte zeigt, wenn diesem eine Variante beigelegt ist, aber in dem Zwischenraum zweier Worte, wenn die Variante sich auf beide bezieht, oder wenn zwischen beide [*sic*] eine Einschaltung angemerkt ist, endlich auch vor oder hinter einem Verse, wenn es sich um einen Zusatz zu diesen Stellen handelt" (*Psalmenprobleme*, p. 172). Ich habe die Sache an den Facsimiles der hebräischen Sirachfragmente nachgeprüft,<sup>20</sup> und kann nur dies sagen: der gewöhnliche Platz des Circellus, der in diesem Manuskript, das in der Facsimile-Ausgabe überdies B heisst, auf Randlesarten hinweist, ist bei dem Buchstaben oder Worte, wofür etwas anderes gelesen werden soll. So ist es von 30, 12 an. Ferner der Umstand, dass der Circellus oben in der Mitte über zwei zu

<sup>20</sup> *Facsimiles of the fragments hitherto recovered of the Book of Ecclesiasticus in Hebrew* (Oxford and Cambridge MDCCCLII).

ändernde Wörter gesetzt ist (41, 6a), bietet keine Parallele zur Zwischensetzung des Striches zwischen zwei zu ändernde Wörter. Denn im ersteren Falle erwies die Randbemerkung, auf die der Circellus hindeutete, was dieser anzeigen sollte. Aber der zwischen zwei Wörter gesetzte senkrechte Strich hätte durch sich allein nicht ebenso ausdrücken können, dass beide Wörter zu ändern seien. Wenn Striche auf die Beseitigung zweier zusammengehörigen Wörter (z. B. מִיָּמִים יָמֵי מֶלֶךְ 1 Sam. 1, 3 etc.) hatten hindeuten sollen, so wäre der Strich natürlicherweise vor den Anfang des zusammenhängenden Ausdrucks, oder vor und hinter dessen Bestandteile zu setzen gewesen. Sodann bei Sirach 47, 9a sehe ich im Facsimile einen Circellus oberhalb שִׁיר, wohinter die Einschaltung des am Rande stehenden הִכִּיךְ geschehen soll, aber ich sehe keinen Punkt *vor* dem Verse. Endlich in 44, 7a kann ich auch mit der Lupe einen Circellus nur hinter בְּדוּרִים wahrnehmen, und eben da soll das am Rande stehende נִכְבְּדוּ hinzugefügt werden.

Diese Tatsachen sind keine Basis, um die Regeln darauf zu bauen, die betreffs der Stellung des neuen kritischen Zeichens in *Biblische Zeitschrift*, I (1903), p. 345 vorgelegt sind. Da heisst es "Um eine Variante zu einem einzelnen Worte anzumerken, setzte man einen Vertikalstrich in die unmittelbare Nähe des variierten Textwortes, und zwar unterschiedslos bald *vor*, bald *hinter* dasselbe." Wenn aber hinzugefügt wird, dass das "gleiche Verfahren" noch von den Massoreten bei der Setzung des Circellus angewendet werde, so habe ich mich davon nicht überzeugen können. Z. B. im Codex Petropolitanus Prophetarum posteriorum steht der Circellus bei Jes. 16, 3 so nahe an dem zu ändernden Konsonanten, wie es nur sein konnte. Sodann die zweite Regel, dass zwei aufeinanderfolgende Wörter durch die Dazwischenstellung eines Striches als "variiert beziehungsweise auch als zu abrogieren" gekennzeichnet worden seien, ist schon im vorigen Absatze als unbegründet und unnatürlich erwiesen worden. Die dritte Regel, dass als Anzeichen einer Satzvariante ein Strich gleich hinter dem ersten oder zweiten Worte des betreffenden grösseren Wortkomplexes gesetzt worden sei, entbehrt der faktischen Analogien, und man setzt doch auch natürlicherweise ein Zeichen der Kritik dahin, wo man etwas geändert haben will.

Sodann habe ich auch bei der Prüfung der einzelnen Stellen,

in denen die Verteidiger des neuen Zeichens der jüdischen Kritik dieses finden wollen, manches Hindernis, ihnen beizustimmen, entdeckt. Die Stellen, an denen v. Ortenberg ein kritisches Pasek fand, sind in meiner früheren Abhandlung diskutiert worden. Jetzt will ich nur noch je eine Probe von den Stellen prüfen, die von Kennedy und von Grimme als Fundorte des kritischen Pasek geltend gemacht worden sind.

Kennedy (*loc. cit.*, p. 90) meint, dass das Pasek, das zwischen יְהוָה | יְהוָה in Ex. 17, 15 gelesen wird, zeige "the line as practically a point of interrogation." Aber dieser Strich soll nur die zu rasche Verknüpfung des Gottesnamens mit dem Prädikativum verhüten. Ferner sagt er (p. 26), dass das Pasek von בָּכַל | יָצָא קוֹלָם (Ps. 19, 5) "is really designed to call attention to the last of these words, before which it would have been more conveniently placed, and instead of which we should read (as shown by the Septuagint rendering, ὁ φθόγγος αὐτῶν) קוֹלָם 'their voice.'" Aber das Pasek will vielmehr die Wirkung des Konjunctivs Mahpakh abschwächen, weil der parallele Satzteil im nächsten Stichos den Disjunctiv Tiphcha initiale (oder Dechf) besitzt. Dieses Pasek könnte mit den senkrechten Strichen verglichen werden, die, wie oben p. 6 bemerkt wurde, in babylonisch-assyrischen Gedichten die einzelnen Hebungen von einander trennen. Selbst wenn die Übersetzung der Septuaginta sicher auf die Lesart קוֹלָם hinwies, würde dies keinen andern Zweck jenes Striches erweisen.

Ferner Grimme behandelt in *Biblische Zeitschrift*, II (1904), pp. 27 sqq., Stellen aus dem ersten Buche Samuelis und beginnt mit 1, 3. Hier lesen wir מִיָּמִים | יָמִימָה in der Aussage, dass Elkana "von Jahr zu Jahr" nach Silo hinaufzog. Der Strich kann hier warnen sollen, die beiden gleichen Ausdrücke zusammenfließen zu lassen. Aber obgleich der Umstand "von Jahr zu Jahr" ganz natürlich ist, auch in den alten Versionen steht und mit den Aussagen von V. 7 und 21 zusammenstimmt, ist nach Grimme doch "zu vermuten, dass die Phrase יָמִימָה מִיָּמִים nachträglich eingeschoben sei." Weshalb? Weil "in dem unserer Stelle fast unmittelbar vorhergehenden Passus Ri. 21, 19 der Einschub von בִּי' יָמִי' noch erkennbar ist." Aber trennt da wirklich der Ausdruck "בִּי' יָמִי' gegen alle Grammatik den Relativsatz von seinem Regens"? Grimme hat nicht beachtet, dass, wie in andern Sprachen, auch im Hebräischen zwischen

Substantiv und Relativsatz nicht nur ein Adjektiv (Gen. 7, 19), sondern auch ein anderes Substantiv gefunden wird (Gen. 8, 6: "und er öffnete das Fenster der Arche, das er gemacht hatte," und so auch in Richt. 21, 19, Hi. 1, 1 etc.). Aber gesetzt auch, der Ausdruck "von Jahr zu Jahr" wäre in Richt. 21, 19 nicht ursprünglich, würde dadurch dasselbe Urteil für 1. Sam. 1, 3 begründet? Natürlich nicht. Indes ein ähnlicher Ausdruck steht ja nach Grimme auch in 2. Chron. 21, 19 "auf schwachen Füßen." Jedoch dort ist weniger der Anfang, als ein in der Mitte stehender Ausdruck sekundär, wie ich in meiner *Syntax*, § 266b nachgewiesen habe, und was könnte auch die Chronikastelle wieder für 1. Sam. 1, 3 beweisen? Aber der Ausdruck 'מ' 'מ ist nach Grimme auch in Richt. 11, 40 ein "unechter Textbestandteil." Warum? Er hat den senkrechten Strich zwischen seinen beiden Bestandteilen. Also was erst noch bewiesen werden soll, wird schon vorausgesetzt, und doch gehört der Ausdruck "von Jahr zu Jahr" ganz natürlicherweise zu dem Satze "alljährlich pflegten die Israelitinnen hinzugehen, um Jephtha's Tochter zu beklagen" (Richt. 11, 40). Der Satz hätte ohne jenen Umstand gar keinen Anfang. Endlich aber auch in 1. Sam. 2, 19 ist "von Jahr zu Jahr" ein ganz natürlicher Ausdruck und deshalb auch von den drei neuesten Kommentatoren der Samuelisbücher (H. P. Smith, Budde und Nowack) mit Recht nicht angezweifelt worden.

Auch die Prüfung solcher Stellen, in denen die kritische Funktion des Pasek neuerdings gefunden worden ist, führt also zu dem Urteil, dass diese kritische Bedeutung des Pasek mindestens über ihre Grenzen hinaus gesteigert worden ist. Jedenfalls ist auch noch dies zu erwähnen, dass eine solche Vertikallinie z. B. nicht hinter Gen. 2, 4a oder hinter 3, 24 oder vor und hinter 5, 29 getroffen wird, obgleich sich dort nach der Erkenntnis unserer Zeit die Quellen des Pentateuch scheiden, und ich darf deshalb hoffen, dass die vorstehende Abhandlung ein nützliches Supplement meines Büchlein *Neueste Prinzipien der Kritik des A. T.* (1902) enthalte.

## LEXICOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

By W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

1. It is usually assumed that šērēti is the pl. of šēru, Hebr. שֶׁרֵר, *morning*, comparing it, in form, with lilāti, *evening*. That lilātu is a pl.,<sup>1</sup> is only a surmise based on its spelling li-la-a-ti, etc. In *del.* 83 (88) ina li-la-a-ti, *on a certain evening*, is manifestly considered a sg. In V R. 28 e-f 25 (= II R. 25 a-b 25) we find tam-ḫa-a-tu(m) = li-la-a-tum, while II R. 32 a-b 19 has tam-ḫu-u = li-la-a-tum, which in l. 18 is also = sa-ḫar ū-me. Were the Babylonian scribes equally ignorant of the sg. of lilātum, if indeed it was really considered by them as a pl.? Is it not remarkable that in such phrases as "morning and evening" we find šēru, not šērēti, as far as our records show? Thus, IV<sup>2</sup> R. 54 b 32 and 50 še-lal-ti ū-me še-rim u li-la(l)-a-ti, *three days, in the morning and in the evening*; 41. L.<sup>4</sup>, col. iii, 9 mimma šum-šu nap-tan še-e-ri li-la-a-ti (Lehmann, *Šamaššumuktn*, Zweiter Theil, pp. 26, 27).<sup>3</sup> Šērēti has been explained as pl. of šēru, because a sg. šērtu was not known. It occurs, however, not infrequently. Thus Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln*, No. 56, 4 [ina] šer-ti e-ma<sup>(1)</sup> Šamaš ittapha (-ḫa), *in the morning, at sunrise*.<sup>3</sup> 80-7-19, 65, 7 še-ir-ti; K.

<sup>1</sup> Delitzsch, *Grammatik*, § 70a. It is stated there that mu-ša-a-ti, *nights*, could be the pl. either of mûšu or mûšitu; but, inasmuch as mûšitu occurs quite often, it is most likely that mûšati is the pl. of this latter, rather than of mûšu (*DAL.*, pp. 598, 599). Zimmern, *KAT.*<sup>3</sup>, p. 592. has bamātu, pl. bamāti, agreeing with *DAL.*, p. 172, col. ii, against Delitzsch: "der sg. von ba-ma-a-ti ist mir nicht bekannt [but see his "Nachträge"]." It may be of interest to note here that in addition to naru, *canal*, pl. nārāti, the regular feminine na-ar-tu is found. Scheil, "Notes d'épigraphie et d'archéologie assyriennes," No. lxvii, has a short inscription, of which ll. 3-5 read: šakin ki-si-ir-ti ša ŠAG-i na-ar-ti ša e-kal-la-ti (*Rec. de Travaux*, Vol. XXVI). The interesting word kisirtu, *eluve*, is mentioned also in another brief text of Adad-Nirari I. quoted by Scheil where it is said of the king šakin ki-si-ir-ti ša pān nāri, which explains the difficult passage I R. 28 b 24-28. (mât) Na-ar-ti is mentioned in Knudtzon, *Gebete*, No. 85 obv. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln*, Nos. 75-78, 65 nap-tan še-rim, *Morgenmahlzeit*; 89-90, 17.

<sup>3</sup> Compare with this DT. 57, rev. 1, 2 ina še-rim la-am iḡ-ḡu-ri ḡa-ba-ri (Br. 2787, 14373); Zimmern, *loc. cit.*, (c) No. 11, rev., etc., 3 ina še-rim la-am<sup>(1)</sup> Šamaš na-pa-ḫi; 75-78, 14; 45, iii, 8 ina še-rim kīma<sup>(1)</sup> [Šamaš aḡē]; 49, 4; 52, 3 ina še-e-ri. IV<sup>2</sup> R. 3 a 38, 39 ina še-e-ri (= ID-TIK-ZI-GA-TA) la-am<sup>(1)</sup> Šamaš a-ḡi-e. The same ideogram is equivalent to še-e-ru in II R. 27 e-f 12, i. e., K. 2008, col. iv, 31, AV. 831, Br. 6576; and also in K. 56, col. i, 15 = Haupt, *ASKT.*, p. 71, = i-še-e-ir, whence Bertin, *Records of the Past*, Second Series, Vol. III, pp. 94 sqq., translated *he (works) in the morning*. Assuming that šēru may occur as a verb, we would also find it in the proper name<sup>(1)</sup> Il-te-ri, Cyrus 177, 3. The name would be formed like Il-tam-meš-nāri, 82-3-23, 271, 1:

871 obv. 1 *when Jupiter stands fast* ina še-ir-ti; 82-5-22, 57, 1; K. 742, 11; K. 750, edge, 1;<sup>4</sup> K. 761 rev. 3 ni-qu-u ina ši-ri-e-ti im-ba-ru li . . . ,<sup>5</sup> a pl. occurring also in Sm. 954 obv. 40 (il<sup>at</sup>) Ištar i-lat še-ri-e-ti (= UD-ZAL-LA, EME-SAL) ana-ku, *KAT*.<sup>3</sup>, p. 424; Br. 7907. III R. 52 a 50; 57 b 61 (No. 7, 15) ina še-ri-e-ti.—III R. 67 c-d 57, 59, 60 Papsuk(k)al<sup>6</sup> is called AN-PAP-GAL, AN-GA-AN-DU, AN-GA-AN-GU as the god ša še-ir-ti, AV. 6953.—Connected with šēru, *morning* is probably (sub<sup>āt</sup>) še-ri-'-tu, mentioned V R. 61, cols. v, 44, 52, 54; vi, 3 in a list of festival robes furnished for Šamaš, A-a (Aja, Malkatu), and Bunēnē.

2. The best known šērtu is the noun discussed by Delitzsch, *Hwb.*, p. 636, col. i, = 𐎶𐎶𐎶 ( ? ). According to Jensen, *KB.*, Vol. VI (1), pp. 340, 341 it means a) *anger, wrath*; then also *anger in action, punishment*. Thus, in addition to the instances cited by Delitzsch, we have *KB.*, Vol. VI (1), pp. 108, 109, ll. 54, 55 (Etana-legend) še-rit-ka i-si(a)ḫ-ḫu-ra a-na muḫ-ḫi-ia ša a-šak-ka-nu-ka a-na-ku še-er-ta. Creation account, IV, 114 še-rit-su na-šu-u (3. pl.). NE, I, col. v, 20 (il) Êa-bani nu-uk-ki-ra še-rit-ka (var. -su). *KB.*, Vol. II, pp. 246, 247, 63 e-me-is-su (il) Marduk šar ilāni še-ir-ta-šu rabī-tu (= *punishment*). Perhaps also King, *Magic*, No. 11, 19 (end) šer-ti pu-šur.—b) *sin, misdeed, iniquity*; i. e., the cause of anger and its subsequent punishment. V R. 51, col. iii, 10; Hammurabi-Code, xliii, 48 še-ri-zu. Here, also, T. A. (London) 61, 14 qa-ar-zi-ia: ši-ir-ti, *slanders*; and, perhaps, III R. 66 obv. 10 d ina ū-me še-ir-ti nu-bat(?) -te; or this last, after all, to šērtu, *morning* (?).

3. A third noun šērtu occurs in IV<sup>2</sup> R. 25 b 50, 51 šer(?)šar? šir?)-tu ittananiḫ az(s)-k(q)a-ru el-liš šu-pu. The ideogram GIR-GAL (Br. 319) also stands for namḡaru, *sword, scimitar*. šērtu may mean, here, the beam(s) or ray(s) of the early morning sun, shooting out pointed like a sword; or, does it refer to the sharp horns of the azkaru? Of great help toward the understanding of this passage is Hammurabi-Code, xliii, 43,

*Rec. de Travaux*, Vol. XIX, pp. 104, 105. Nabonidus 497, 4 Il-tam-meš-na-ta-nu; 554, 4 Il (written AN)-tam-meš(?) -i-la-a-a; shortened, perhaps, to Tam-meš-na-ta-nu, K. 961, 15 (H. 454). See *Jour. Trans. Vict. Institute*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 19, 20; 36. The verb šamašu occurs in III R. 52 a 40 (iš-mu-šu); and the Piel is suggested by Bertin in K. 56, col. i, 16 u-ša-am [-maš?]; but see Br. 6614. Both verbs would be denominatives.

<sup>4</sup> Thompson, *Reports*, Nos. 23, 185, 186, 196, 271.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 243.

<sup>6</sup> See *DAL.*, p. 757; *KAT*.<sup>3</sup>, p. 454.

where it is said: *May Sin, the Lord of Heaven, my divine creator, whose scimeter (ša še-ri-zu) shines (šu-pa-a-at) among the gods, etc.* See Harper's *The Code of Hammurabi*, pp. 104, 105.

4. Still another noun šertu is found in II R. 16 f-g 30-32 ḫab-bur-ru la i-ša-ru, še-ir-tum a-a u-[šar-ri], *BAS.*, Vol. I, p. 460 rem. 2; II, pp. 303, 304; Jensen, *ZA.*, Vol. I, pp. 409 sqq. It appears to mean *germ* or *growth*. It is derived from šerû, *germinate, grow, thrive* = שָׁרָה. The present is found in K. 720, 5 rag-gu iḫaliq ket-tu ibašši dan-nu i-ša(e)r-ri mešrû; and the perm. in Tallqvist, *Maqlû*, I, 21 (19) bīnu . . . . ša kim-ma-tu ša-ru-u. The Piel we find K. 712 rev. 7 and K. 955, 16 la šur]-ri-e bu-bul-ti, Thompson, *Reports*, Nos. 88, 270. Perhaps also K. 4995 obv. 17 šur-ru-u: ina šur-ri-i ḫab-bu-ur-šu. Derivatives of šerû, in addition to šertu, are mašrû, mešrû (*DAL.*, pp. 610, 611), še(i)r'û, and šir'ûtu.—For šer'û see Lyon, *Sargon*, p. 66. 82-8-16, 1, col. iv, 9 ab-si-in | KI-AŠ (= DIL)-AŠ | še-ir-'u-u, Br. 9641, 9642. 81-2-4, 206 rev. 5 ši-ir-'a-ša ibašši; ideogram I-KU + Br. 51. III R. 53 a 2 (kakkab) APIN ana ABSIN (= šer'û) šur-ri-i, *KAT.*<sup>3</sup>, p. 428 *Ähre*: Name des Sternbildes der Jungfrau in Arsacideninschriften.—šir'ûtu. Esarh. *Negoub*, 13 ši-ir-'(u)-u-sa, *BAS.*, Vol. III, p. 207 *sein Halm*.

5. Sargon, *Khorsabad* 176, 177 read ilāni u ištaraṭi a-šib-bu-ti (mat) Aššur i-na tam-gi-ti<sup>7</sup> u mar tak-ni-e i-tu-ru maḫāzu-uš-šu-un. *KB.*, Vol. II, p. 79, translates *mit Fest und Feier*; Delitzsch, *Hwb.*, p. 338, col. i, suggests i-na tam-gi-ti [u] MAR (*i. e.*, narkabti?) tak-ni-e. tamgitu may be from ṣ/nigû, and = nu-ug libbi, *Khors.*, 194, etc.; or belong to nagû, *shout, make noise, make music*, = nigûtu (*DAL.*, pp. 642, col. i; 645, col. ii). The difficult word in the sentence is mar; and I would suggest to consider it an abbreviation for ammar, translating: *accompanied with the shouting (of the people) and after most careful preparation (of their habitation by king and priests)*.<sup>8</sup> The abbreviated mar (=

<sup>7</sup> *Khors.* 173 Sargon offers (ma-ḫar-šu-un aq-qi) to the gods tam-qe-ti la nar-ba-a-ti; *Ann.* 434. tamqēti appears preferable to pirqēti. As tamgitu from nigû, so tamqitu from ni(a)qû, *offer, sacrifice*. The same word is found also in IV<sup>2</sup> R. 60 \* B, obv. 12 ki-i ša tam-ki-tum a-na ili la uk-tin-nu, *because they do not bring sacrifice unto God*.

<sup>8</sup> The suggestion offered seems to me the most plausible. There could be mentioned several others; viz., explaining mar as c. st. of ma-ru which in V R. 21 g-h 39 is the



ammar) is found, also, in K. 903 obv. 3, 4 (H. 124) apparâte mar i-ba-šu-ni. Likewise we find nak for annaka, 81-7-27, 39 obv. 5, 6 (H. 802) še ki-su-tu ištu na-ak a-na (mat)A. ni-za-bi-lu-ni.

6. Sargon Cylinder 39: Sargon who ma-at Aššur ra-pa-aš-tum ti-'-u-tu<sup>9</sup> niš-bi-e u bu-luṭ lib-bi ti-il-li-nu-u si-mat šarru-ti zu-un-nu-nu, supplied the wide country of Aššur with provisions in plenty and the choicest for the heart's content, appropriate to (the splendor of his) royalty. tillinû, or tellênû, I derive from على (DAL., p. 42, col. 1) in the meaning of *highest, best, choicest*, a form like terdê(n)nu from ridû; d(ṭ)iqmênu from qamû (DAL., 247, col. 1; ZA., Vol. XVI, p. 195, *Feuerbecken*);—d or ṭ instead of t on account of the following guttural.<sup>10</sup> Compare also ta(u)rgumânu from ragamû and ta(u)rtânu, probably from retû. Does here belong also T. A. (Berlin) 26, col. iv, 7 one ŠU te-la-a-an-nu ša (aban) giš-šir-gal?

7. Another derivative of على is tēlû, f. tēlîtu, *lofty, sublime*. K. 2001, 4 te-li-tu (ilat) Ištar (ša tu-qu-un-ti ḫal-pat), BAS., Vol. III, pp. 274, 275 *die mächtige Ištar*, evidently deriving it from le'u, le'û, *be strong* (DAL., pp. 463, 464). K. 3464 obv. 26 te-li-ti (ilat) Ištar, Craig, *Relig. Texts*, pl. 66; Martin, *Textes religieuses* ('03), *sublime, auguste*; so also PSBA., Vol. XXIII, pp. 115 sqq. II R. 59 e-f 16 AN-NIN-BAR is explained te-li-tum; AV. 8896, Br. 7357, 11055.

Assyrian for GIŠ. But it is doubtful whether the line is correct, inasmuch as ll. 27 to end of the column appear to be a kind of preparatory exercise of a pupil based on K. 8522 rev. (see also KB., Vol. VI (1), pp. 34 sqq.). Or, instead of the present reading, the original might have read i-na tam-gi-ti [u ina] mar [-tak] tak-ni-e, the former tak (=šum) being omitted by either the original writer or an early copyist. ina mar-tak (tak-ni-e) for maštak c. st. of maštaku, just as we have maštakal and martakal (DAL., 614 col. 2). ina martak taknie would correspond to ina ê-kur bit tak-na-a-ti of K. 3351, 13. Tak, of course, could also be read šum and we would then have ina mar-šum tak-ni-e, an exact equivalent to ina ma-a-a-al tak-ni-i. ma-a-a-lu (and -al-tum) = ir-šu, II R. c-d 55, 56; ma'âltum = mar-šum, II R. 23 c 65.

<sup>9</sup> I do not believe it necessary to assume a different word ti'ûtu for III R. 41 a 15: one narkabtu a-di ti-'u-u-ti-ša, valued together at 100 pieces of silver. te'ûtu, like biši(a)xtu, literally: *what is needed, Bedarf*, may have the meaning of *equipment, outfit* (literally: *its provisions*). See also PSBA., Vol. XXI, pp. 40 sqq. on K. 3456 rev. 10.

<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, we often find ת (usually initial) instead of ט (ṭ), especially when followed by a labial; thus, we have tu-ub, tu-ub-bu, ta-a-bu, etc., instead of ṭab, ṭubbu, ṭabu. In view of this fact I would scarcely assume a stem תבא sink, run aground, as Harper does in his edition of *The Code of Hammurabi*. That Jensen, ZA., Vol. IV, pp. 2 sq. compares ina e-lip-pi ṭe-bi-tim, IV<sup>2</sup> 30, No. 2 b 11 with תבא rather than טבא, does not prove that there was in Assyrian a stem תבא, alongside of טבא, with the same meaning. See also KAT<sup>3</sup>, pp. 398, rem. 1; 546, rem. 7; 650. Ungnad, ZA., Vol. XVIII, p. 61, reads Hammurabi-Code xxxvi, 82, ṭe (ṭ)-bi-a-at.

Ḥammurabi-Code, ii, 48, 49 the king calls himself mi-gi-ir te-li-tim of Ištar. K. 7673, 14 . . . u-mu tu-çi-a (*when thou didst go*) te-li-tum-ma na-mir-tu šaq[-qu-tu].

8. II R. 35 a-b 31 U]B = te-el-tum (Br. 5785), followed by ta-na-at-tum, 32 (Br. 5784), nu-'-u-du, 33, 34; and ta-ni-it-tum, 36; AV. 8917. Rm 2, II, obv. 1-4 UB-AG-A = te-e-lum (V R. 39 e 53, AV. 8907, Br. 5795; 83, 1-18, 1330, col. iv, 5; Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 165, rem. 2); UB-DUG-GA = tēlu ḥa-an-ṭu; UB-AD-AG-A = tēlu ma-ru-u; UB-DI-DI = ? ?; 5 UB = te-el-tum (also 6-8). Also ZA., Vol. X, p. 211, 12 te-il-tum ša(-)ta(-)te-e-lu: te-lit um-mi-ja a . . . The ideogram points to a  $\sqrt{\text{علی}}$ .

9. Quite a different word appears to be tēl(i)tu, c. st. tēlit,  $\sqrt{\text{ܬܠܝܬ}}$ , Jensen, ZA., Vol. V, pp. 292 sqq.; VI, pp. 153, 154; 348. From the same verb we have u'iltum, formerly read u-an-tu(i)m.<sup>11</sup> Tēlitu means *tax, obligation, tribute* (to a temple, etc.). Here belongs V R. 61, col. v, 49, 50 (ṣubāt) qar-bit rabitu u te-lit ka-ri-bi. Cyrus 94, 1 suluppu te-lit ša šatti; 333, 1; Nabonidus 1058, 8 te-lit-tum a-na, etc.; 815, 3 and 11; VATh. 208, 4 ur-bu u te-li-tu, KB., Vol. IV, p. 95, *Eingangsabgabe und Auflage*; Peiser, *Keilinsch. Aktenstücke*, p. 2, 4; *Babyl. Verträge*, No. cliv, 7. Here, perhaps, also K. 3609, 4 (end) te-li-tu ina eqli ibašši (ZA., Vol. XVI, p. 204,  $\sqrt{\text{علی}}$  = *ce qui s'élève; grows*; or  $\sqrt{\text{ܬܠܝܬ}}$ ?).

10. The f. of šanū, *second*, is not always šanūtu.<sup>12</sup> NE, I, col. v, 25 Gilgameš mentions a dream-vision, which he has seen and which he desired his mother to interpret for him; col. vi, 21 he says um-mi a-t]a-mar ša-ni-ta šu-na-ta;<sup>13</sup> V, col. ii

<sup>11</sup> The reading u-il-tu(i)m as against u-an-tim is proved especially by its occurrence in the Ḥammurabi-Code, xix, 55, e-ḥi-il-tum (+75); xii, 37 e-ḥi-il-ti-šu; xii, 29 i-il-ti-šu; the character il is that of Delitzsch, *Lesest.* 3, p. 16, No. 130, not the character AN (=ilu, god).

<sup>12</sup> Delitzsch, *Assyrische Grammatik*, §§ 76, 77.

<sup>13</sup> Perhaps a mistake for šu-ut-ta, occasioned by l. 19(?).—On šuttu, *dream-vision*, and šittu, *sleep*, see Haupt, *Jour. Bibl. Lit.*, Vol. XIX, p. 69, rem. 42; also Kamphausen, *Daniel* (SBOT.), pp. 15, 16.—Another šuttu  $\sqrt{\text{ܫܘܬܬܐ}}$  occurs as a synonym of ḥaštu, V R. 47 a 29, 30 and V R. 28 a-b 32, 33 (DAL., p. 346, col. ii). Rm 2, ii, 399 (= Haupt, NE., p. 77) 15 šu-ut-tu, preceded by pi-rit-tum (13) and followed by nissatu (17). Here belongs also V R. 21 c-d 31 AN-TAG(?) GAR-RA = ilu ša šu-ut-ti. Br. 3810, AV. 896, 8676; preceded by ilu lim-nu. This šuttu, *oppression, distress, misery*; and *sin* [see šartu for an analogous development of meanings] is a synonym of šittu occurring in K. 3182, col. ii, 4; Tallqvist, *Maqlā*, III, 184, 185, 187, 191, as supplemented in BAS., Vol. IV, p. 160; also see *Maqlā*, III, 158 sq., 185, 188, 191. King, *Magic*, Nos. 6, 8 (še-it-tu); 12, 78 (itti) šit-tu (var. -ta); etc. Meissner, *Supplement*, p. 99, col. ii, for the additional passages. Perhaps also V R. 16 g-h 24 AL-LUB = šit-it-tum, Br. 5765, a synonym of kārū (DAL., pp. 431, 432). The abstract noun šittātu we find in King, *Magic*, No. 11, 16.—A third šuttu as

(iii) 31; iii (iv) 13-14 [ib-ri] a-ta-mar šalul-ta šu-ut-ta [u] šu-ut-ta ša a-mu-ru ka-liš ša-ša-at; here šanġtum can hardly mean *another*. KB., Vol. IV, p. 54, No. vii, 12-14, it is said: *he shall pay ten minas a-na ħa-ar-bi-im; and ten other minas a-na ša-ni-u-tim* (= šanġtim) xa-ar-bi. Nabonidus 203, 10 speaks of ištēni-it mi-ši-iĥ-tum; and 18 ša-ni-tim mi-ši-iĥ-tim; 178, 18. Nebukadnezar 101, 10 alti (aššati) ša-ni-tu, *a second* (another?) *wife*; 164, 20. T. A. (Berlin) 7 rev. 29 [iš]-te-it = *the first time*; followed by u] ša-ni-ta, *the second time*.

11. Of some importance appears to have been the <sup>(amēl)</sup> šanġ, *the second* (in command, in the country, etc.), AV. 7978. He is mentioned quite often in the Letters, edited by R. F. Harper: 81-7-27, 199 obv. 1 a-na <sup>(amēl)</sup> II-e (*i. e.*, šani-e) bēlija (see this JOURNAL, Vol. XIV, pp. 6, 7); 81-7-27, 199, A, obv. 1; K. 514, 12 u ša-nu-u ša <sup>(al)</sup> Pu-qu-du; K. 525, 12 <sup>(amēl)</sup> II-i-šu (BAS., Vol. II, p. 60); K. 14 rev. 12 <sup>(amēl)</sup> šanu-u-šu; 82-5-22, 99 obv. 14.<sup>14</sup> Neb. 109, 18 <sup>(amēl)</sup> II-u ša māt tam-tim, preceded by <sup>(amēl)</sup> ki-i-pi ša māt tam-tim; 166, 14. KB., Vol. IV, pp. 128, No. vii, 1; 140, No. viii, 1. Perhaps also V R. 55, 34 *the brave charioteer did not see* ša-na-a ša it-ti-šu. As a proper name we find it in Nabonidus 158, 10 <sup>(amēl)</sup> Ša-ni-e-šu; K. 317, 38 <sup>(amēl)</sup> II-u ša <sup>(amēl)</sup> rab u-rat. pl. Rm 2, 3 obv. 5 <sup>(amēl)</sup> ša-nu-te (H. 380).

12. The denominative of šina, *two*, or šanġ, *second*, is šanġ (š = ش). In addition to the forms mentioned by Delitzsch and Meissner, we have the Ifteal quite frequently. Thus SP 158 + SP II 962 rev. 10 i-nu-um ša-bu-ru-u (= šabrġ, *seer*) iš-ta-nu lim-nam-šu-un, *if the magicians repeat their evil*; and especially in T. A. letters aq-bi aš-ta-ni, (Berlin) 97, 10, *I have said repeatedly*; Rost. 3, 14 ta-aš-ta-na (-ni, 27 = 2 sg.) a-ua-tu a-na ġa-ši.—The Ištāfal occurs in Hammurabi-Code, xxvi, 58 uš-ta-ša-an-na-ma, *he shall double*; xvii, 12 uš-ta-ša-na (Harper, HC., p. 187). A derivative of šanġ, *double*, *repeat*, is šanġtu, *repetition*, *time*, mostly written ŠU.

well as a third šittu are mentioned in a list of garments, V R. 14 e-f 14, 15 KU-ŠU-KUD (= TAR)-DA and KU-KUD-KUD-DA = šit-tum, Br. 397, 7082; perhaps synonym of gal-bu, DAL., p. 218, col. i. ZA., Vol. II, p. 331, No. 14, compared שִׁטָּה; but see Zimmern, *Busspalmen*, p. 55, rem. 1.—V R. 16 e-f 24 KU-TI-DAX-DAX = šu-ut-tu.—A fourth šittu is met in V R. 19 c-d 30; cf. 16 g-h 38; II R. 27 g-h 38. Its meaning is very doubtful.

<sup>14</sup> H. 382, 268, 252, 42, 373.

**13.** šinītum, V R. 15 *e-f* 14, is, no doubt, derived from šanû, V R. 11 *d-f* 23 A]-GE-A = A-ĠAR-RA = ša-nu-u, Br. 11545, 11706, followed by mē raxaçu. Originally identical with šanû, *change, alter*, it probably had the specific meaning *dip, dye*. KAT.<sup>3</sup>, p. 650, compares 𐤔𐤍. Here I would add ša-na-a-tum mentioned in V R. 14 *b* 24. Identical, also, originally with šanû, *change*, is the šanû which has the specific meaning to *repair*. KB., Vol. IV, p. 202, 9 u-ri i-ša-an-na; Cyrus 177, 16 i-ša-ni, etc. See çabatu (DAL., pp. 861, 862). Camb. 306 rev. 2 u-ri te-ša-an-ni. The Ifteal we have in Camb. 182, 5 i-sa-an-nu; and the Piel in Nabonidus 1030, 11 ūru u-ša-an-nu (3 pl.). Here perhaps also the mušannitum (DAL., p. 608, col. i).<sup>15</sup>

**14.** šanû, *foal, the young of an ass*, is mentioned in II R. 27 *c-d* 17 ša-nu-u; K. 4204 (II, 24, No. 1, additions), 28 IMÊR-TU-DU = ša-nu-u together with i-bi-lu, Br. 4987; AV. 7978; ZA., Vol. III, p. 207, No. 11; Vol. V, p. 387. Rm 2, 588 obv. 30, 31 ša-nu-u, followed by is(ç)-pu ša . . . .

**15.** Meissner, *Supplement*, p. 97, col. i, mentions Nerigl. 28, 9 *two* ši-pi ša tiṭi, ein Hausgerät, without specifying. I believe ši-pi is the same as the <sup>(19)</sup>šupal šēpi, *footstool*, mentioned quite often; Nabonidus 990, 11; 761, 2; 258, 14. Also šupal alone is found without the šēpi added.

**16.** In view of the fact that <sup>(11a)</sup>Ereš-ki-gal is called the šar-rat erçi-tum, NE. (Haupt) 19, 46 (KAT.<sup>3</sup>, pp. 583 sq.) we may safely conclude that e-re-šu V R. 28 *a-b* 31 is a synonym of šar-ra-tum, *queen*. KB., Vol. VI (1), p. 82, rem. 1; 388 = Allatu.

**17.** IV<sup>2</sup> R. 58 *b* 48 read with ZA., Vol. XVI, pp. 176, 177 šer-ru ša ana ḥa-bu-ni-ia a-na-aš-šu-u ana ḥa-bu-ni-ki ta-na-aš-ši, *the child which I carry on my bosom thou wilt carry on thine*; 58 *c* 34 i-šal-lup šer-ru ša ta-ra-a [-ti]. On ḥabûnu see also Daiches, ZA., Vol. XVI, p. 405. IV<sup>2</sup> R. 61 *a* 45, 46 ḥa-bu-un-šu tu-mal-lu-u-ni. A f. of šerru perhaps in IV<sup>2</sup> R. 51 *a* 39 a-na šer-ti it-ta-din ina rabī-ti im[. . .]. Šerru is a derivative of šarûru, *decrease, become, or be small*. From the same verb perhaps also:

**18.** šarûru a synonym of qiššû, some kind or species of *cucumber*, K. 267, col. iv, 7, 8. Another synonym is u-ba-nu.

<sup>15</sup> Feuchtwang, ZA., Vol. VI, p. 442, compares 𐤔𐤍 = *make smooth, polish*; but see Meissner and Rost, *Die Bauinschriften Sanheribs*, p. 107, No. 23.

19. S<sup>b</sup> 355 ša-ra | BAR | ša-a-ru, Br. 6879. The same ideogram in S<sup>b</sup> 354 = pa-rak-ku. V R. 41 a-b 4 šar-ru a synonym of pa-rak-ku; thus perhaps šaru = šarru, *king*.

20. šaru, in the specific meaning of *breath (of life)* and *favor* is found especially in the T. A. Letters: (London) 28, 23 e-nu-ma la-a it-ta-zi ša-a-ru ištu (šir) bi šarri bēlišu, *unless the breath goes forth from the mouth of the king, his lord*; 42, 36 ša-ri šar-ri u-ul ti-na-mu-uš iš-tu mu-xi-nu, *let the breath (= favor) of the king not depart from us (+40+41)*; 26, 7 ša-ri balāṭiia, *my life's breath* (thus the writer calls the king) +15-17. (Berlin) 45, 55 tu-ča-na (ṽaṣṣu) ša-ri a-na ia-ši. Creation account, K. 8522 obv. 6, Marduk is called il ša-a-ri ṭa-a-bi be-el taš-me-e u ma-ga-ri ni-ṣi-nu šari-šu ṭa-a-bu, *KB.*, Vol. VI (1), pp. 34, 35; 341; *KAT.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 526, S<sup>p</sup> II 265 a No. xx, 10 ša-a-ra ṭa-a-ba ša ilāni ši-te'-e-ma. K. 8204, cols. iii-iv 8 ša-ar-ka ṭaba li-zi-qam-ma, *PSBA.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 138, 139.

21. Ša-riš in (amēl) rab ša-riš, Jensen, *ZA.*, Vol. VII, p. 174 = *he who is the head, the chief*, whence רִבְשָׁרִישׁ; Zimmern, *ZDMG.*, Vol. LIII, p. 116, rem. 2; *KAT.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 649. Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln*, No. 57, 10 (amēl) ša-riš šarri, *the eunuch (?) of the king*. Anp., col. i, 92 ša (amēl) ša (written NIN)-riš pl. ša (amēl) ša-riš šarrā-ni bēl ḫi-i-ṭi šērē-šu-nu u-bat-tiq. See also Pinches, *London Academy*, 1892, June 25, p. 618, quoting rubū-ša-ri-e-šu.

22. Tēbiltu,<sup>16</sup> from the same root as ablātu, *fulness, multitude*, occurs in the name of the canal, Senn. *Rass* 73 nār te-bil-ti a-gu-u šit-mu-ru; Esarh. *Negoub* 6 nār te-bil-ti max-ri-tu of Ašurnācirpal. It is usually read Te-ne-ti. AV. 8845; Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 124; *BAS.*, Vol. III, pp. 206, 207. A synonym is contained, perhaps, in III R. 4, No. 7, 15 . . . te]-e-be-li ša-di-i e-li[-u-ti]; 23 te-be-li šadē elūti as compared with 17 and 24 ḫi-ṣib]-ti ti-āmat. Line 16 read perhaps at-ta tap-lak-ka-ta (ṽpalaku) ša-di-i šap-lu-ti. taplakkata (perm.) would be a formation like ta-šap-par-ta and ti-ḫi-ta-ti, T. A. (London) 23, 10 and 13.

<sup>16</sup> A *t*-formation like tēbiltu, *brightness, light, splendor*, II R. 54 b 30; K. 56, col. iii, 14; *KB.*, Vol. III (2), 108, 31-32.—tēgirtu = egirtu, *ZA.*, Vol. VII, p. 215; K. 525, 15+23; rev. 8+11 (H. 252); K. 5464, rev. 1.—tēdiqu, *garment, dress, robe*.—tēdištu, *restoration, renewal*.—tēkitu, *weakness, want*.—tēliltu, *splendor, purification, etc.*

23. In addition to the form *ti-šit*,<sup>17</sup> f. of תִּשְׁתִּי, *nine*, the spelling *tiltu(i)* occurs several times. Hilprecht, *Assyriaca*, 69, and Scheil, "Notes d'épigraphie et d'archéologie assyriennes," No. xxviii, 3,<sup>18</sup> l. 9 *ti||-ti ūmu*, preceded by *sa-man-ti ūmu*. Here belongs also Tallqvist, *Maqlā*, V, 83 *ti-il-ti ū-me im-ba-ru ša na-ad-na šit [-tum?]*, *on the ninth day* (literally: *nine days*) *a storm which will create destruction(?)*. Weissbach's question, *BAS.*, Vol. IV, p. 158, is thus disposed of. K. 6012 + K. 10684, 11 UD IX = *til-ti ūmu*.<sup>19</sup>

24. Ten years ago I suggested (*DAL.*, p. 65, col. i) that *ta-a-an*, either following or preceding terms of measurement, capacity, or cardinal numerals, was a compound of *ta*, i. e., *TA* and *a-an*, c. st. of *ānu*,<sup>20</sup> and was best translated by: *amounting to*, or the like. I am more than ever convinced of the correctness of this interpretation. If the word were an ideogram, as is usually assumed, we would expect to find it spelled alike in all—or almost all—cases. As a matter of fact it is written *ta-a-an* (AV. 8757; Tallqvist, *Die Sprache der Contracte Nabū-nā'idis*, p. 141); *ta-an*; *a-an* (AV. 25; Tallqvist, p. 45); *'a* (*ZA.*, Vol. VII, pp. 177 sq.; AV. 2135); *'a-a*; and perhaps even *ta* (Tallqvist, p. 141; *BAS.*, Vol. I, p. 517).—Creation-account, V, 4: XII *arxē kakkabē III ta [-a]-an uš-zi-iz*, (*for*) *the twelve months he sat up stars, three in number*.<sup>21</sup> *NE.*, VI,

<sup>17</sup> Sm. 699; Delitzsch, *Assyrische Grammatik*, § 75; Haupt, "Beiträge zur Assyrischen Lautlehre," *Nachrichten v. d. Kgl. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1883, p. 103, rem. 3.

<sup>18</sup> *Recueil de Travaux*, Vol. XIX, pp. 61, 62.

<sup>19</sup> The text referred to is published by Pinches in *PSBA.*, Vol. XXVI (1904), opposite p. 56, preceded, on pp. 51-56, by an article on *šapattu*. Additional remarks on this text and Pinches' interpretation, of the greatest importance, have just been published by Zimmern in *ZDMG.*, Vol. LVIII, pp. 199-202. The text is a Babylonian monthly calendar. In l. 13 is mentioned as fifteenth day *ša-pat-tu*. It is the only day in this text thus designated. Pinches' reading *bat-ti*, l. 11, instead of *til-ti*, and his combination of it with *nu-bat-tu* and *ša-p(b)at-tu*—all three declared to be of non-Semitic origin going back to remote antiquity—is rejected by Zimmern. Whether *šabattu* or *šapattu* is the original reading—both occurring several times—cannot now be determined on the basis of our present scanty information. Zimmern suggests that the *šap(b)attu*—fifteenth day—may have been the full-moon day, as opposed to the first day of the month—the new-moon day; that *šapattu* may have indicated the day on which the moon began to discontinue, disappear. On *šapattu*, *cease, discontinue, decrease*, and its connection with *šapattu*, we are referred to Köhler, *Beiträge zur assyrisch-babylonischen Medizin*, pp. 90 sqq. *Šapattu*, says Zimmern (*loc. cit.*, p. 202, rem. 3) statt "Ablassen, Aufhören des göttlichen Zornes" (see II R. 32 a-b 14; IV<sup>2</sup> R. 32, col. ii, 39; K. 6010 + K. 10684, 14; Jensen, *ZA.*, Vol. IV, p. 244; *KB.*, Vol. VI (1), p. 34, rem. 3; *KAT.*<sup>2</sup>, 593, rem. 4, etc.) könnte auch "Abnehmen des Mondes" bedeuten.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Grammatik*, § 9, Nos. 1 and 95. *TA* = *ana* or *ina*; II R. 9, 15; 15, 46; V R. 21, 2; AV. 8646; II<sup>2</sup> R. 15, 41; V R. 21, 47; Sb 101. K. 4603, 6 and 7 *TA* = *a-na*; *TA-A-A-N* = *a-na a-an*, AV. 8842.

<sup>21</sup> Jensen, *KB.*, Vol. VI (1), 346, commenting on this passage, says: "*ta-a-an* möglicher Weise mitzulesen und dies sogar recht wahrscheinlich, wie auch das damit wechselnde

189, 190 šelašša manā ta (var. omits!) -a-an<sup>(aban)</sup> uq(k, g) nī  
 ši-pi-ik-ši-na | šun-nu-u ma-ni-e a-an (var. omits) ta-  
 ax-ba-tu-ši-na (*amounting to thirty minas*). Del. 134 (140)  
 a-na XII ta-a-an i-te-la-a na-gu-u, perhaps: a nagû  
*arose (out of the water) after twelve [kasbu<sup>22</sup>] in number*;  
 also del. 55, 56 (= 58, 59) Ten GAR ta-a-an, in the second  
 instance the variant reading omits ta. Tallqvist, *Maqlû*, VIII,  
 87: Two GAR-XI-Ā išten ta-a-an çalam, *meals for each*  
*of the pictures (of the enchanter and enchantress)*. AV. 8851  
 quotes: eli 3 šūši ta-a-an ti-ib-ki.—Zimmern, *Ritualtafel*,  
 No. 1–20, 48 AŠ ta-a-an zôr: one AŠ<sup>23</sup> of seed; also ll. 49,  
 50; here no doubt also 61: *three times twelve* (simply III XII)  
 akal AŠ-A-AN tašakkan? 38 *three times twelve*, a-an, etc.;  
 No. 56, 12: III-ta-a-an, which in other cases is expressed by  
 III-šu; 57, 5 III?-t]u-ta-a-an akal AŠ-A-AN. It is used  
 often in contracts. Cyrus 242, 9–10 ište-en ta-a-an ša-ṭa-ri  
 il-te-qu-u; 338, 10–11; while 245, 9 ište-en a-an il-qu-u;  
 see also Camb. 279, 10; 388, 14; AV. 4735, and Tallqvist, p.  
 141.—Creat.-account, VII, rev. 20, 21 ḥanšā(-a-an), *fifty* (in  
 number). Sarg. Cylinder 35 (45) Sargon speaks of 350 a-an  
 mal-ki la-bi-ru (-u)-te ša el-la-mu-u-a be-lu-ut<sup>(mat)</sup>  
 Aššur i-pu-šu-ma. Cambyses 334, 7–8 kaspā a-an 12  
 ma-na šim<sup>(amēltu)</sup> N., *money to the amount of twelve minas,*  
*the prize for N*. AV. 25 quotes kaspu a-an 11 ma-na 18  
 ṬU = *amounting to eleven minas and eighteen shekels*; suluppu  
 a-an 5 GUR-MEŠ: *dates amounting to five bushels*. Strass-  
 maier, *Liverpool* 83, 9 kaspu a-an ½ ma-na, etc.; while 16,  
 5 kaspu 'a 10 ma-na and often. See KB., Vol. IV, pp. 316,  
 318, ll. 7, 11.—Nabd. 243, 13 kaspu a' 1 manā; 326, 6; 655,  
 5 kaspu a-an, etc.—It appears, then, that the original form  
 was ina (or ana) ān, written for brevity's sake ta-a-an; that  
 the c. st. a-an alone was used also; and that in later years arose  
 the still shorter 'a or a', resulting from a-an.

a-an jedenfalls im späteren Babylonisch kein ungelesenes Ideogramm war, sondern mit-  
 gelesen ward. Das beweist das im Babylonischen damit wechselnde ' (lies wohl α'), das  
 lautgesetzlich alterom an entsprechen kann (see Jensen in ZA., Vol. VII, pp. 177 sq.). Siehe  
 fürs Assyrische z. B. Johns, *Deeds*, No. 436, rev. 9; No. 502, obv. 6, u. No. 612, rev. 1. Ja, auch  
 gerade für X ta-a-an = je X erscheint eine Form ohne n. Ueber eine ev. Bedeutung je  
 für ta-a-an habe ich mir noch kein Urteil bilden können."

<sup>22</sup> See KB., Vol. VI (1), pp. 499, 500; on kasbu, or KAS-BU, see DAL., 414, and add:  
 Kugler, ZA., Vol. XV, pp. 383 sqq.; also ZA., Vol. XVIII, p. 82.

<sup>23</sup> Some kind of measure (of capacity), etc.

These notes are based on material shortly to be published as Part 18 of the *Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language*. This part, it is hoped, will complete a work which was begun more than eighteen years ago. The first materials were gathered in 1885 by the author, then the principal, and shortly afterward, the only contributor to the proposed *Johns Hopkins Assyrian Glossary*, announced in 1886 by Professor Haupt, the Director of the Semitic Seminar of the Johns Hopkins University. The plan of such a dictionary, compiled and edited by students of Assyriology in America, as well as the original plan of the Glossary, was formulated by that brilliant scholar, whom other duties, unfortunately, prevented from bringing out the work himself. After devoting upwards of seven years to the collection and classification of materials, including not only the texts themselves but also the commentaries and other philological work, elucidating and explaining obscure and difficult passages of these texts, the author began publication in 1893, some four years after the *Johns Hopkins Assyrian Glossary* had been officially and definitely abandoned. To the publication of this lexicon the author has given, during the years 1893 to 1903, all the time that editorial work on official publications and other duties at the University of Chicago permitted him to devote. This fact will account for the seemingly slow progress in bringing out the successive parts of the dictionary, which now will be speedily completed, the author having given all his time to this work during the last twelve months.

The dictionary, originally announced to comprise eight parts, has grown, since its initial number, to more than twice this size, owing to the fact that new material was constantly added to the collection at the author's disposal when Part 1 was published in 1894.

Of the deficiencies and shortcomings, of the errors and mistakes—both printer's and author's—no one is more painfully cognizant than the author. Just and unbiased criticism, however severe, has always been welcome; for therefrom an author will benefit more freely and learn more readily, than from fulsome, unscholarly praise and too ready assent.

As soon as Part 18 is published, the author will publish the large amount of new material which, collected during the course of publication, could not be incorporated in the earlier parts and,



to some extent—in the case of very recent material, such as that published in the excellent edition of *The Code of Hammurabi* by Professor Robert Francis Harper—not even in the later parts. This supplement-volume will contain also the list of corrections to Parts 1–18.

The author welcomes additions and corrections which perusers of his dictionary may see fit to send him, either directly or by way of publication in some journal. As heretofore, credit will be given to every contribution, or correction, sent him. Several scholars in England and in France, notably the Rev. C. H. W. Johns, Lecturer in Assyriology in Queens' College, Cambridge, England, have voluntarily sent him new and important material for the supplement-volume, and have promised further instalments in the near future. The author begs leave to express his appreciation and sincere thanks for such scholarly generosity and interest.

NOTE.—P. 189 of this JOURNAL (Vol. XX), footnote 10, read *Ninrag* (= *Ninib*) instead of *Nimrag*.

## ETHIOPIC MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE COLLECTION OF WILBERFORCE EAMES.

By EDGAR J. GOODSPEED,  
The University of Chicago.

Not a few gentlemen in America have of late years interested themselves in the collection of oriental manuscripts, and among these a number of Ethiopic manuscripts have found their way into American libraries, public and private. It was my good fortune last autumn to become acquainted with such a private collection, through the courtesy of its possessor, Mr. Wilberforce Eames, of the New York Public Library. It seems desirable that some account of the Ethiopic manuscripts, five in number, in the collection of Mr. Eames should be presented to workers in Ethiopic and in kindred fields.

### I.

Parchment, *foll.* 140, double columns, three hands of different periods, with slight additions by a fourth, pictures in color, inks black and red, oriental binding of stout boards covered with tooled brown leather. Probably of the seventeenth century. Leaves measure *cm.*  $18 \times 21$ , and are arranged in fifteen quires, of which the first has five single leaves, the fourth, fifth and ninth, eight each, the tenth, twelve, the fifteenth, nine, and the others, ten each. In the first quire, *foll.* 1-5, which is written by the first hand, and made of thick but soft parchment, the lines run from 21 to 27 to the column. The second part of the manuscript, quires 2-10, *foll.* 6-91, is written in an earlier hand on tougher parchment, with 16 lines to the column. The third part, quires 11-15, *foll.* 92-140, is in a still earlier hand, with 20 lines to the column. A fourth hand, later than the second and third, but perhaps not later than the first, has added a few lines at the end of Part 1 and of Part 2. Frequent references in the first part to Kidāna Māryām and his family show that that part of the manuscript was written for him. Walāa Māryām appears as the owner in the second part, but the name of Kidāna Māryām has been added in some places. In the third part Fešša Krestōs, Patrō-

myā, and their son, Walda Rūfā'el, are mentioned, but here the names of Tsadāla Māryām<sup>1</sup> and his son, Kīdāna Māryām, have been added. The older parts of the codex thus belonged originally to different owners, and coming later into the possession of Kīdāna Māryām had what is now the first part prefixed to them. A paper fly-leaf inside the first cover reports that the manuscript was part of the spoils taken after the overthrow of King Theodore, and was brought from Abyssinia to France by a French officer who participated in the expedition against him.<sup>2</sup> It doubtless came, like the great collection secured by the British Museum in 1868, from Magdala.

The principal contents, after the prefatory part, are discourses for the festivals of the angels Mikā'el and Rūfā'el. The first part, *fol.* 1 to 5, is clearly of later origin than parts 2 and 3, and reflects a time when Kīdāna Māryām had become the possessor of the manuscript. Colored pictures of the Virgin and angels, in the crude Abyssinian style, occupy the *verso* of *fol.* 1 and both sides of *fol.* 2. The writing begins with a hymn to Mikā'el, *fol.* 3, *recto*, as follows:<sup>3</sup>

በስመ : አብ : ወወልድ : ወመንፈስ : ቅዱስ : ኔ አምላክ : ሰላም : እብል : ከ  
ያክ : መልአክ : ርኅሩኃ : ልብ : እንተ : ሊኮንክ : ድሩክ ፥ ሚካኤል : ሊቅየ : ሰለ  
እቤሰክ : ኅብዓረ : በጽባሉትክ : ነፃፃፃ : ወሰርክ : እስመ : እምንእስየ : እፈርህ : ሀ  
ከክ : በርከት : ጸጋሁ : የሀሉ : ምስለ : ፍቅሩ : ወልድ : ሩፋኤል : ወ ፀደለ : ማር  
ያም : እቀሶመ : ለአፃብርቲክ : ከዳነ : ማርያም : ወልድ : ተክለ : ፃይማኖት :  
ፖብረ : መድኅን : እእርፍ : ነፍሳተ : እዕማኒክ : ወሰተ : መድኅን : ወሰተ : ማር  
ያም : ፡ ፡ ፡ ሰላሰመ : ፃሰም : እግዚ : On the *recto* of *fol.* 4, a new para-  
graph begins: በስመ : አብ : ወወልድ : ወመንፈስ : ቅዱስ : ኔ አምላክ : አ  
መ : ፤ ወ ኔ በዛቲ : ዕለት : ተዝኅረ : በዐሉ : ለመልአክ : ክብር ፥ [ሚካኤል :]  
ሊቀ : መላ (*fol.* 4, *verso*) እክት : ወርእለ ፤ ሠራዊት : ሰማያዊያን ፥ After

<sup>1</sup> Walda Rūfā'el and Tsadāla Māryām seem (*fol.* 5, *recto*) to have been the same individual, through whom Kīdāna Māryām thus inherited Part 3 from his grandfather.

<sup>2</sup> "Ce manuscrit provient du colonel Gally-Passebosc, tué par les Canaques de la Nouvelle Calédonie, en 1878. Cet officier avait fait partie de l'expédition anglaise contre le roi Théodoros et il s'était emparé, lors de la défaite de ce prince, du tapis sur lequel il faisait ses prières, de son bouclier, et de ce manuscrit." Other Ethiopic manuscripts secured at the same time were presented by this officer to the Bibliothèque nationale; cf. Zotenberg, *Catalogue*, No. 70, a manuscript once owned, like this one, by Kīdāna Māryām. On the influence of the expedition above mentioned in the diffusion of Ethiopic manuscripts, cf. W. Wright, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscripts in the British Museum*, p. iii. This manuscript is noticed in Maisonneuve's *Oriental Catalogue*, 8, No. 6369 (1881), and 5, No. 6941 (1892).

<sup>3</sup> The Ethiopic texts in the following pages are printed uncorrected, precisely as they appear in the manuscripts.

<sup>4</sup> *om. rubr. ex errore.*

an account of the saint's appearances to Joshua the son of Nun (Nāwē), and to Dorotheus and his wife ቲዋብስታ: the final paragraph concludes as follows, *fol. 5, verso*: ኃይለ : ጸላ፤ እለ : የሐውት : በጽልመት : ይጉይዩ : ወይርጎቅ : በመቅሰፍት : መግቱ : ለእግዚአብሔር : ፀባዖት : ወበጸሎቱ : ለቅዱስ :: [ሚካኤል:] ሊቀ : መላእክት : ይዕቅድሙ : ለእግብርቲሁ : ኪዳነ : ማርያም : ወልደ : ተክለ : ሃይማኖት : ገብረ : ማርያም :: ለፃለሙ : ፃለም : አሜን : ወአሜን : ለይኩን : ለይኩን :

The second part, *fol. 6, recto*, to 90, *verso*, contains the Dersāna Mikā'el, together with other discourses on the saint and accounts of forty of his miracles. It is divided by the rubric into forty-six divisions.

1. Dersāna Mikā'el, *fol. 6, recto*, to *fol. 18, verso*. It begins, *fol. 6, recto*, ድርሳነ : ሚካኤል : ዘቅዱስ : መድኃኔ : ፃለም : በስመ : አብ : ወወልድ : ወመንፈስ : ቅዱስ : ፤ አምላክ :: ድርሳነ : <ዘ>ሊቀ : መላእክት : ሚካኤል : ርእሰሙ : ሰኃይላት : ሰማይ : ትጉሃን : መልእክ : ሠርዌሆሙ : ለብርሃናውያን ፥ እለ : ሥፁላን : በነደ : እሳት ፥ መተንብል : ለዘመደ : እገለ : እመሕደው : ቅድመ : መንበሩ : ለእግዚአ : ኃይል : ዘስዩ(ዩ)ም : ጸበ : አእላፍ : ፍሡሓን : መልእክት : ምሕረት : እለ : ይተፈነው : እምነበ : እግዚአብሔር : ለረድኤቱ : ቅዱሳነ : ለእለ : ይወርሱ : ሕይወት : ዘለፃለም :: ዘይደምፀ : እምነሁ : ቃለ : እስተምህር ፥ ኩሉ : ጊዜ : ይስእል : ለነ : ምሕረት ፥

2-5. Miracles of Mikā'el, *fol. 18, verso*, to *fol. 22, verso*, beginning ተአምሪሁ : ለሊቀ : መላእክት : ሚካኤል :

6. Supplication of Mikā'el, *fol. 22, verso*, to 24, *verso*, beginning, *fol. 22, verso*, በስመ : እግዚአ (*corr.*) : ብሔር : ሥሉስ : በገዳዊሁ : ጥሀድ : በምልክሁ : ዘኢይትረኩብ : ጥንተ : ህላዊሁ : ንጽሕፍ : መጽሐፈ : ተጋንዮ : በእንተ : ፀባዩ : ለሚካኤል : ሊቀሙ : ለትጉሃነ : ሰማይ : ላእካሁ : ዘይትነበብ : አመ : ፤ ወ ፤ ለሰሠርቅ : ወርኁ ፥ ወትብል : አቡየ : ዘበሰማደት : ወጸሎት : ሃይማኖት ::

7-10. Miracles of Mikā'el, *fol. 24, verso*, to 31, *recto*, introduced as above.

11. Exhortation for the commemoration of the seven guardian angels,<sup>1</sup> *fol. 31, recto*, to 35, *recto*, beginning, *fol. 31, recto*, በምፀ : ኩልክሙ : ሕዝበ : ክርስቲያን : መ<ሃ>ይምንት : ወመሐይምናን : ኢታስተንእስ : ገብረ : ተዘካርሙ : ወእኩብር : በፃሎሙ : ለእሱ : ፤ ሊቃነ : መላእክት : ትጉሃን : ኢይምሰልክሙ ::

12-20. Miracles of Mikā'el, *fol. 35, recto*, to 47, *verso*, with a preface beginning, *fol. 35, recto*, በስመ : ሥሉስ : ቅዱስ : ፤ አምላክ : ን

<sup>1</sup> *om. rubr. ex errore.*

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wright, *Catalogue*, No. CCXXVI, 2, where the angels number nine. and the opening words are not quite the same.

ወጥን : በረድሔት : እግዚአብሔር : በጽሐፈ : ዜና : ተአምራት : ለመልእክ : ክ  
ሉር : ሚካኤል : ሊቀሙ : ለሠራዊት : መላእክት : ትንብልናሁ : ቅዱስ : የሀሉ :  
ምስለ : ገብሩ : ዘወልደ : ማርያም : ለዓለመ : ዓለም : አሟን ::

21. Discourse for the 12th of Tāhsās, *fol.* 47, *verso*, to 53, *recto*,<sup>1</sup> beginning, *fol.* 47, *verso*, በስመ : አብ : ወወልድ : መንፈስ : ወ  
መንፈስ : ቅዱስ : ኧ አምላክ : ስምዑ : ዘንተ : ዙልክሙ : አሐዛብ : ወአጽምዑ :  
ዙልክሙ : እለ : ትብሩ : ወስተ : ዓለም ÷ እድ : ወአንስተ : እለ : ሀላውክሙ :  
ወስተ : ዘንቱ : ምሥጢር : ከመ : ታእምሩ : ኃይለ : ተአምረ : ወመንክረ : ዘገ  
ብረ : እግዚአብሔር : ከመ : ደርአ : ፅባዮ : ሚካኤል : etc.

22—43. Miracles of Mikā'el, *fol.* 43, *recto*, to 73, *recto*.

44. Discourse of Timothy of Jerusalem, *fol.* 73, *recto*, to 81, *recto*, beginning በስመ : አብ : ወወልድ : መንፈስ : ቅዱስ : ኧ አምላክ : ድ  
ርሳን : ዘብዑፅ : ወቅዱስ : አባ : ደማቲዎስ : ጳጳስ : ዘኢየሳሌም : ዘደረሰ : በእ  
ነተ : ሚካኤል : ሊቀ : መላእክት : ገባሬ : ተአምር : ወመንክር : ወበእነተ : ቅ  
ዱስ : ወንጹሕ : መፍቀሬ : እግዚአብሔር : ተላሳን : ዘአምነ : በእግዚእነ : ወመ  
ድኃነነ : ኢየሱስ : ክርስቲስ : ወልደ : እግዚአብሔር : በሰላመ : እግዚአብሔር :  
አሟን ::

45. Discourse of John, bishop of Akuesūm,<sup>4</sup> *fol.* 81, *recto*, to 88, *recto*, beginning በስመ : አብ : ወወልድ : መንፈስ : ቅዱስ : ኧ አምላ  
ክ : ድርሳን : ዘቅዱስ : ሚካኤል : ሊቀ : መላእክት : ዘደረሰ : ርቱን : አሟን ÷ ዮ  
ሐንስ : ጳጳስ : ዘአዙሱም : ቀዳሜ : ለቤተ : ክርስቲያን : ቤተ : ሚካኤል : ወደ  
ፈቅርም : ብዙኃን : ለሚካኤል : ተአምር : ፤ ወ ፤

46. Miracle of Mikā'el, *fol.* 88, *recto*, to 90, *verso*, concluding  
as follows: ወአንተሙኒ : ከመ : ትስአልዎ : ከመ : ደርዳእክሙ : ወደድዝክ  
ሙ : እመሥገርቼ : ለሰይጣን : ይቅም : ባቲ : እምነሁ : በአሚን ÷ ወበልብ : ር  
ቱእ : ለዓለመ : ዓለም : አሟን ÷ ወአሟን ÷ ÷ ÷ (Later hand and ink) በጸ  
ሱተ : ሚካኤል : ሊቀ : መላእክት : ፅቀሶ : ለገብርክ : ኪዳነ : ማርያም :

The third part (*fol.* 92, *recto*, to 139, *recto*) contains the dis-  
course of St. John Chrysostom on the Archangel Rūfā'el, with  
the miracles of Rūfā'el.<sup>5</sup> It is divided by the rubric into thirteen  
parts, as follows:

1. The discourse of St. John Chrysostom for the festival of  
the angel Rūfā'el, *fol.* 92, *recto*, to 108, *verso*, beginning በስመ :  
አብ : ወወልድ : መንፈስ : ቅዱስ : ኧ አምላክ : ድርሳን : ዘቅዱስ : ዮሐንስ : አ  
ፈ : ወርቅ : ዘተናገረ : በሀገረ : ዓባይ : ቍስጥንጥንያ ÷ ዘይትነብብ : በበዓለ : ቅ  
ዱስ : ሩፋኤል : ሊቀ : መላእክት : ትብልናሁ : የሀሉ : ምስለ : ፍቅራሁ : ፍሥ  
ሐ : ክርስቲስ : ጳጥሮምያ : ለዓለመ : ዓለም : አሟን ÷ ይቤ : ዘንተ : ድርሳነ : በ

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wright, *Catalogue*, No. CCXIX, 2.

<sup>2</sup> መንፈስ : repeated by mistake.

<sup>3</sup> ወ om.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Wright, *Catalogue*, No. CCXIX, 8.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Wright, *Catalogue*, Nos. CCXXV, 3; CCXXVIII, 2; CCXXIX, 1.

ውስተ : ሀገረ : ሮጌ : በትእዛዝ : እገዚአብሔር : ሱቱ : ስብሐት : ወበትእዛዝ : ፻  
 17 ሥት : መፍቀርያ : እገዚአብሔር : እናሬዎስ : ወእርቃዴዎስ : ወቴዎድስዮስ :  
 ንጉሥ : አቡሆሙ : መፍቀሬ : እገዚአብሔር : እመ : ሠሉሱ : ለወርሃ : ንኡስ :  
 ዘውእቱ : ጳጉሟን : ቡሩክ : ተዝኳሩ : ለመልእክ : ዐቢይ : ሩፋኤል : ሊቀ : መላእክ  
 ክት :: በሰማይ : ወበምድር : ደብዕሉ : ሱቱ : ከመ : አብደጸሁ : መላእክት : በእ  
 ንት : ዘከሠተ : እምኃ (*corr.*) ይላት : ልዑላት : ወተናገረ : ካዕበ : በእንተ : እና  
 ሬዎስ : ወእርቃዴዎስ : ወቴዎድስዮስ : ንጉሥ : አቡሆሙ : መሐፊ : ወኔር :: ንፁ :  
 ዙልክሙ : etc.

2. Miracles of Rūfā'el, *fol.* 108, *verso*, to 112, *verso*, begin-  
 ning አጤይክሙ : አኃውየ : ዕዑበ : ወመንክረ : ካሌሙ : ዘገብረ : ተእምረ :  
 ሊቀ : መላእክት : ጸሱቱ : ወበረከቱ : ወትንብልናሁ : የሀሉ : ምስለ : ፍቅሬሊሁ :  
 ፍሥሐ : ክርስትስ : ጳጥሮምደ : ወምስለ : ፍቅሬሊሁ : ሕዝበ : ክርስቲያን : ሰማ  
 ዕደን : ለዓለመ : ዓለም : እጌን ፥

3. Miracles of Rūfā'el, *fol.* 112, *verso*, to 127, *verso*, begin-  
 ning ናሁ : ንጽሐፍ : ለክሙ : አኃውየ : ፍቅሬን : ኃይለ : ዘገብረ : ቅዱስ : ሩ  
 ፋኤል : እመ : ተፈገወ : ውስተ : ፊት : ቂስጠንጢኖስ : ንጉሥ : ዘተመስሉ : ለእ  
 ብርሃም : በሠዊጃ : ወልዱ ፥

4-11. Miracles of Rūfā'el, *fol.* 128, *recto*, to 136, *recto*, intro-  
 duced with ተእምሪሁ : ለሊቀ : መላእክት : ሩፋኤል :

12. Hymn to Rūfā'el, *fol.* 136, *recto*, to 138, *verso*, beginning  
 ሰላም : ለዝክረ : ስምክ : ተጸውዖ : ዘቀደመ : በአፈ : እምላክ : እጃም : እንበለ :  
 ይሰመይ : ስመ ፥ ሩፋኤል : ምልክ : ወወስከ : ጃገመ ፥

13. Hymn to Rūfā'el, *fol.* 138, *verso*, to 139, *recto*, beginning  
 ገረፍተ : ዕንቁ : ዕዱል : ዘገፋገን : ምስማክ ፥ ሩፋኤል : ሊቀ : ግልሳይ : መል  
 እክ ፥ ዘትቀውም : ቅድመ : እምላክ ፥ and concluding, *fol.* 138, *verso*,  
 ዕጣነ : ጸሱትነ : አዕርገ : ንበ : እምላክ : ልዑል ፥ ወማዕጠንተክ : ዘፍያል ፥ ሩፋ  
 ኤል : ሊቀ : ካህነ : ወንጌል ፥ ወባላሔ : ዙዝ : እምነጉል : ለፍቅሬ (*fol.* 139,  
*recto*) ኒክ : ፍሥሐ : ክርስትስ : ጳጥሮምደ : ወለወልደሙ : ወልደ : ሩፋኤል :  
 (Later hand and ink) አዕርፍ : እገዚእ : ነፍሰ : ገብርክ : ዕጃለ : ማርያ  
 ም : ወወልዱ : ከዳነ : ማርያም : ዕቅቦ : ወአድኅኖ : እመከራ : ሥጋ : ወ[.]ነፍ  
 ስ : ለገብሩ : ከዳነ : ማርያም : ወበእሲቱ : ክብርተ : ሥላሴ :

## II.

Parchment, *fol.* 142, single columns until the third *recto* of  
 the thirteenth quire, from which point the writing is in double  
 columns. There are twenty-five lines to the column. The inks  
 are black and red, the binding an oriental one of boards and  
 brown leather. The leaves measure *cm.* 12 × 17.5. They are  
 arranged in fourteen quires, numbered in the upper left hand  
 corner of the first *recto*, besides a prefatory quire, left blank.



red, oriental binding of brown leather. Leaves measure *cm.* 11 × 15.5. They are gathered in nine quires, the first, a prefatory one, left blank, having originally ten single leaves, of which three have been cut out. The second, third, and ninth quires contain eight single leaves each, the others (fourth to eighth) ten each. In numbering, the blank prefatory quire is disregarded, and quires 2 to 7 are numbered 1 to 6, in Ethiopic numerals placed at the top of the first *recto* of the quire. The writing is in single columns of eleven lines each. The manuscript was bought of Maisonneuve, Paris.<sup>1</sup> It contains the Weddāsē Māryām. Except for certain modern notices in French and English on the first *recto*, the prefatory quire is blank. The writing begins on the first *recto* of quire 2. The manuscript was made for Walda Mikā'el. It contains the Weddāsē Māryām and encomiums and hymns to the Virgin.

1. The Weddāsē Māryām, *fol.* 1, *recto*, to 40, *recto*, beginning **ወዳሴ፡ ለእግዚእት፡ ማርያም፡ ወላደት፡ እምላክ፡ ዘይትነበብ፡ በዕለት፡ ሰኑይ፡ ፈቀደ፡** etc. The six portions for the other days of the week follow, the last being that for the Christian Sabbath, **እለት፡ ሰንበት፡ (፲. ዕለት፡ ሰንበት፡) ክርስቲያን፡** *fol.* 35, *verso*, to 40, *recto*.

2. The encomium upon our Lady Māryām (*fol.* 40, *recto*, to 56, *verso*, beginning **ወእምዝ፡ ንጽሐፍ፡ ዝክረ፡ ወዳሴ፡ ለእግዚእት፡ ማርያም፡ ወላደት፡ እምላክ፡ ጸሎት፡ ወበረከት፡ የሆኑ፡ ምስለ፡ ገብረ፡ ወልደ፡ ሚካኤል፡ ለሳለመ፡ ሳለም፡ እሚን፡ ቅድስት፡ ወበፀፀት፡ ስብሐት፡ ወቡርክት፡ ክብርት፡ እንቀጸ፡ ብርሃን፡** etc. as in No. II, in Brit. Mus. Orient. 535, No. 7,<sup>2</sup> etc.

3. The hymn to the Queen of Heaven, *fol.* 56, *verso*, to 60, *verso*, beginning **ይዩድስዋ፡ መላእክት፡ ለማርያም፡** (*fol.* 57, *recto*) **በወስት፡ ውግጤ፡ መንግሥት፡ ወይብልዋ፡ በሐኪ፡ ማርያም፡** as in Brit. Mus. Orient. 539, No. 7, *a*.<sup>3</sup>

4. Hymn to Māryām,<sup>4</sup> *fol.* 61, *recto*, to 64, *verso*, beginning **በሰማይ፡ ወበምድር፡ አልብዮ፡ ባዕደ፡ አበ፡ ወእመ፡ እኅተ፡ ወወሱደ፡ ማርያም፡ ድንግል፡ እትአመክ፡ ገሀደ፡**

5. Hymn to Māryām,<sup>5</sup> *fol.* 64, *verso*, to 70, *verso*, beginning

<sup>1</sup> The manuscript is noticed in Maisonneuve's *Oriental Catalogue*, 5, No. 5560 (1880), and in 6, No. 6943 (1892), as "Homélie et prières de St. Ephrem sur la Vierge."

<sup>2</sup> Wright, *Catalogue of Ethiopic Manuscripts in the British Museum*, p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.

<sup>4</sup> As in Brit. Mus. Orient., 578, 574, etc.; Wright, *Catalogue*, Nos. CLXXXVIII, 28; CLXXXIX, 8, etc.

<sup>5</sup> As in Brit. Mus. Orient., 641, 648; Add. 24188, etc; Wright, *Catalogue*, Nos. LXXX c, LXXXVI a, XCv a, etc.



አርገርገተ : ሕሊና : አፍቅርተ : ሰብእ : ልማዳ : ሰአሊተ : ምሕረት : ይእተ : ማርያም : ሐዑረ : መስቀል : ዘየአውዳ ፥ The closing lines are as follows, *fol.* 70, *verso* : እእገዘእትየ : ማርያም : እድዒረ : (*corr.*) ሰገብር ከ : ወልደ : ሚካኤል : ወምስለ : ጸሐፊሁ : የገደ : እየሱስ : ፥፥፥ እሴብሕ : ጸ ጋከ : እምል Here the writing breaks off abruptly. *Foll.* 71 to 74 are blank, except for a crude picture (*fol.* 73, *verso*, 74, *recto*) representing the Virgin receiving the adoration of a man, probably the Walda Mīkā'el for whom the manuscript was made. A Walda Mīkā'el is mentioned in an eighteenth century manuscript in the British Museum,<sup>1</sup> and the same person may be meant.

## IV.

Paper, *fol.* 204, *cm.* 12.5 × 18.5, single columns, nineteen lines, inks black and red, thirteen quires, of eight double leaves each, except quires 8 and 9, which have seven each. The quires are numbered at the upper left hand corner of the first *recto*, except the concluding quire, which was not used. Probably of the eighteenth century. The paper is oriental, thick and glossy, with an arrangement of three crescents as the most frequent water-mark. The binding is of dark brown leather. The manuscript was bought of Maisonneuve, Paris.<sup>2</sup> It contains the Psalms and the biblical songs and prayers.

1. The Psalms, 151 in number, *fol.* 1 (3), *recto*, to 168, *verso*. After a blank fly-leaf attached to the first quire, the Psalms were begun on the first *recto* of the first quire and again on the second *recto*, but on both the writing was almost immediately broken off, on account of errors made. A third start was made on *fol.* 3, *recto*, as follows : ፍካሬ : ዘዳድታን : ወዘኃጥኣ ን ፥ መ (*corr.*) ዝመር : ዘዳዊት :: ሃሌ : ሱዶ ፥ ብዑዕ : ብእሲ : ዘኢሶረ : በም ከረ : ረሲዓን ፥

2. The biblical songs and prayers—Moses (3), Hannah, Hezekiah, Manasseh, Jonah, Azariah, the Three Children (2), Habakkuk, Isaiah, our Lady Mary, Zacharias, Simeon, fifteen in all—*fol.* 169, *recto*, to 188, *verso*. They begin መኃልደ : ዘከሊያ ት : ወጸሱቱ : ለመሴ :: ኧ : ንሴብሶ : ለእገዚአብሔር : ስቡሐ : ዘተሰብሐ ፥ *fol.* 169, *recto*. A thirteenth quire, unnumbered, of sixteen blank leaves (eight double leaves), concludes the book.

<sup>1</sup> Wright, *Catalogue*, No. CCXVIII.

<sup>2</sup> The manuscript is noticed in Maisonneuve's *Oriental Catalogue*, 5, No. 5575 (1880), and 6, No. 6953 (1892).

## V.

Paper, *fol.* 236, single columns until *fol.* 202; from that point double columns to the end. Inks blue and red as far as *fol.* 231; *fol.* 232 to 236, black and red. Leaves measure *cm.*  $13.5 \times 19.5$ , with sixteen or seventeen lines to the column (*fol.* 1–231, sixteen; *fol.* 232–36, seventeen). The manuscript was purchased from Luzac, London, and had previously belonged to Joseph Barclay, Bishop of Jerusalem, whose book-plate is still inside the first cover. The first fly-leaf contains the following note: "Presented by a Monk of the Abyssinian Convent, Jerusalem, April 6th, 1868. J. B." The date of the manuscript itself is probably not much earlier, perhaps about the middle of the nineteenth century. It is bound in red, with pasteboard covers and leather back. It contains the Psalms, the biblical songs and prayers, the Song of Songs, the Weddāsē Māryām, and the Anaphora of Dioscorus.

1. The Psalms, 151 in number, *fol.* 1, *recto*, to 175, *recto*, beginning መዝሙረ : ዳዊት : ትመስል : ገነተ :: ዘትሰድ : አጋንነተ : ወታቀር ብ : መላእክተ : ዘትጸጊ : ጽጊያተ : ወትፈፊ : ፍሬያተ ÷ ተግግጽ : ለዙሉ ÷ ፍካሬ : ዘዳድቃን : ወዘኃጥኣን :: መዝሙር : ዘዳዊት : ሃሌ : ሉያ ::

2. The biblical songs and prayers—Moses (3), Hannah, Hezekiah, Manasseh, Jonah, Azariah, the Three Children (2), Habakkuk, Isaiah, our Lady Māryām, Zacharias, Simeon—fifteen in all—*fol.* 175, *verso*, to 192, *recto*—beginning መሐልፍ : ነቢያት : ወ ጸሎቶ : ለሙሴ :: ንቤብሉ : ለእግዚእብሔር : ስቡሐ : ዘተሰብሐ ÷ *fol.* 175, *verso*.

3. The Song of Songs, *fol.* 192, *verso*, to 201, *verso*, beginning መኃልፍ : መኃልፎ : ዘውእቶ : ዘሰሎሞን : ይስእመኒ : በስእመተ : አፋሁ :: *Fol.* 202 is left blank.

4. The Weddāsē Māryām, *fol.* 203, *recto*, to 222, *verso*, beginning ውዳሴሃ : ለእግዚእት : ማርያም : ወላዲተ : እምላክ : ዘይትነብብ : በዕለተ : ሰኦይ :: ፈቀደ : እግዚእ : etc. The Weddāsē for the other days of the week—ሠሉስ : ረቡዕ : ሐሙስ : ፃርብ : ቀዳም : and ሰንበተ : ክርስቲያን :—follow.

5. The encomium upon our Lady the Virgin Māryām, *fol.* 222, *verso*, to 232, *recto*, beginning ውዳሴሃ : ለእግዚእት : ድንግል : ማርያም : ወላዲተ : እምላክ ÷ ቅድስት : ወብፀፀት : etc.

<sup>1</sup> The manuscript thus came into Dr. Barclay's hands in the course of his earlier residence in Jerusalem, 1861–70. He returned as bishop in 1881, and died in the same year.

6. The Anaphora of Dioscorus,<sup>1</sup> *fol.* 232, *recto*, to 236, *recto*, beginning አኩቴተ : ቀረባን : ዘቅዱስ : ደዮስቆርስ : ጸሎቱ : ወበረከቱ : የሀሉ : ምስሌ፤ ለዓለመ : ዓለም : አሜን :: እምቅድመ : ዓለም : ወእስከ : ለዓለም : ሀሉ : እግዚአብሔር : በትሥልስቱ ፥ It ends ንቤከ : ንጸርህ : ወንቤከ : ነገወዩ : ንቤከ : ንትመሀሰል : ለዓለመ : ዓለም : አሜን ፥ አንብሮ : እድ : ንብ : ቅዳሴ : ሐዋርያት : በል ፥ *fol.* 236, *recto*. The Weddāsē and the Anaphora are written in double columns, and the latter in black ink, with the ordinary occasional use of red. In the Anaphora letters and numbers frequently appear, finely written between the lines, perhaps as guides in reading or chanting.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wright, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscripts in the British Museum*, pp. 80-91.

# LIST OF PROPER NAMES IN THE ANNALS OF AŠURBANIPAL.

V RAWLINSON, PLATES I-X.

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The following list of proper names is one which was made by the writer in connection with his edition of this important inscription for the Semitic Study Series edited by Gottheil and Jastrow,<sup>1</sup> which appears as the second number of that series. No other Assyrian inscription is quite so full of historical and geographical information, and the list of names in it is invaluable to one who is studying the history of Western Asia.

I am well aware that many others have started lists of their own, and two scholars—Delitzsch and Hilprecht—intend to publish dictionaries of proper names. These, however, have been delayed so long that it may not be impertinent to publish important lists for the use of workers who have not time to make such lists for themselves. It is to be hoped that all future editions of inscriptions will contain such lists.

Abiba'al, son of Jakinlû, 2, 82.

Abijatu, an Arabian general; the son of Te'ru. He and his brother Aimu were in command of the Arabian army sent by the king Uati' (1) to help Sammuges. Later he was made king of Arabia in place of Uati (2), but rebelled against Assyria. He was finally surrounded and captured, 7, 97 ff.

Abimilku, son of Jakinlû, *q. v.*, 2, 84.

Adi-ja, wife of Uati', captured by A. in the invasion of Kedar. Uati' intrusted her to the king Ammuladi after his own defeat, 8, 24. Called queen of Arabia, K 2802, II, 1 ff. The name is evidently a compound of ידד, "rejoice," and the name of a deity *ia'u*, Hebrew "Yâhwe": cf. Khadija, wife of Mohammed.

Aduni-ba'al, son of Jakinlû, *q. v.*, 2, 82. "My lord is Baal."

Agbarina, a city of Elam which joined Bit-Imbi in flight from A. in 661, 7, 63.

Aḫarrû, <sup>ma</sup>Aharri, West land, mentioned as near Kedar, 8, 16.

<sup>1</sup>"Semitic Study Series," No. II, *The Annals of Ashurbanipal*, Leiden: late E. J. Brill, 1908.

- Aḥi-milku, "my brother is king," son of Jakinlû, *q. v.*, 2, 84.
- Aḥnu, a city in Egypt ruled by Buknanni'pu, 1, 102.
- Aḥsêru, king of the Mannai, against whom A. without apparent provocation advanced in 665. Slain by his followers at Ishtaltu, whither he had fled, 2, 126 ff.
- Aimu, son of Te'ru, an Arabian in command of the forces of Uāti', king of Arabia, at the time of the confederacy of Sammuges, 7, 97. He was captured in battle and flayed at Nineveh, 10, 5, 9, 19.
- Aḡabu, city on the Persian Gulf which joined the confederacy of Sammuges, 3, 98.
- Akkadû, Central Babylonia, including Babylon, mentioned as distinct from Chaldea, 3, 97, Šumer and Akkad, 6, 8, 7, 92.
- Akkû, a city in Arabia near Ušû. Captured and its inhabitants horribly mutilated by A. on his return from Arabia in 660, 9, 122.
- Algariga, a city in Elam, captured by A. in 662, 5, 43.
- Ammani, *v.* Bit-Ammani, 7, 110.
- Ammankasipar, an Elamite deity, 6, 34.
- Ammuladu, king of Ḳedar, who waged war on the \*Aḡarri, and whose land was therefore invaded by A. An ally of Uāti', king of Arabia. He was captured and chained like a dog in Nineveh, 8, 15 ff.
- Anu, a deity who sits with Bêl and Bêlit in council, 9, 77.
- Anzakar of Tapapa, a city in Elam, 7, 62.
- Āpaksina, an Elamite deity, 6, 40.
- Apparu, a place in Arabia where A. found a well of water in his expedition against Abijatu.
- Arabu, \*Arabi, land of Arabia, 7, 83; \*Arubu, *var.*, Aribi, 9, 71.
- Aramu, *var.*, Arumu, 3, 98, a country adjacent to Babylonia, mentioned as continuous with Chaldea.
- Aranziaše, a city in Elam, 7, 65.
- Arba-ilu, "City of the four gods." Home of one of the Ishtars, 1, 16.
- Arrabu, a name occurring in the name of the Elamite city Bit-Arrabi.
- Arwad, an island city in the Mediterranean Sea ruled by Jakinlû, and later by his son Aziba'al, 2, 63, 89; *cf.* Ezekiel 27, 8.
- Aššur, land of Assyria. Ašur, the deity, chief in the Assyrian pantheon called Nun-Nam-Nir = rubû-eṭellûtu; called šadû rabû, 8, 2, an epithet of the Babylonian Bêl in the Izdubar Epic.
- Atarsamajain, a nomad tribe of Arabia plundered by A. in his expedition against Nabataea, 8, 112.
- Azalla, a city of Arabia in the land of Maš, 8, 108. A place where A. stopped on his return from the expedition to Nabataea, 8, 119. Said to be about 60 miles from the Atarsamajain, 8, 122.
- Azaran, a city in Arabia at which a battle was fought between A. and Uāti': the passage in which it occurs is not clear (7, 108), and it may be a city of Assyria where Gira the pest god was worshiped.

- Aziba'al, son of Jakinlû, king of Arwad, who was placed over his father's kingdom by A., 2, 82; *cf.* אֶזְבַּל in Phœnician names.
- Ba'lu, var. Ba'al, a king of Tyre, who was besieged and reduced to extremities by A. Gave his daughters to A. as concubines and his son as a slave, 2, 49.
- Ba'alhanunu, "Baal is gracious," son of Jakinlû, *q. v.*, 2, 84.
- Ba'al-iašubu, son of Jakinlû, *q. v.*, 2, 83; *cf.* Punic יִשְׁבֻּעַל, *CIS.*, 159, 3. "Baal abides."
- Ba'almaaluku, "Bel is king," son of Jakinlû, *q. v.*, 2, 84.
- Bābsalimetu, a city on the Persian Gulf which joined the confederacy of Sammuges, 3, 99.
- Banitu, name of a goddess in the name Kār-(ilu)-Baniti, *q. v.*, 1, 77.
- Banunu, a city in south Elam east of the river Idide, 5, 113.
- Barsip, Borsa, fortified by Sammuges, 3, 107.
- Bāsimu, a city in Elam, 5, 117.
- Bēletir, "Bel-spare," son of Nabu-šum-eriš, *q. v.*, 3, 62.
- Bēlikša, "Bēl will grant," father of Dunanu, king of Gambula, 3, 61.
- Bilala, a city of Elam, 6, 41.
- Billatu, a city in Elam, 4, 116.
- Bir-Dadda, *v.* Pir-Ramman.
- Bit-Ammani, a city in Arabia, mentioned in the expedition against the Nabataeans, 7, 110. Ammani is perhaps identical with Ammon.
- Bit-Arrabi, a city in Elam, 5, 48, 7, 61.
- Bit-Bunuku, a city in Elam, 5, 78.
- Bit-Idkid, *v.* E-Idkid.
- Bit-Imbi, a city in Elam, rebuilt near the site of the old city which was destroyed by Sennacherib. Here the queen of Teumman lived (5, 66) under the protection of the rebellious line of kings at Madaktu, 4, 123.
- Bit-kunnukki-bit-su, "House of the seal is his house," a city in Elam, 5, 47.
- Bit-Katatti, a city in Elam, 7, 67.
- Bit-šadē, E-kur, chief temple of Nineveh, 10, 30.
- Bit-Unzā, a city in Elam, 7, 61.
- Bubē, a city in Elam, 5, 50, 7, 60.
- Bubilu, a city in Elam, 5, 54, 88.
- Bujama, prince of Pindidu in Egypt, 1, 99.
- Bukkunanni'pu, prince of Aḥnu in Egypt, 1, 103. Another person by the same name is called king of Ḥathirib, 1, 94.
- Bukurninip, prince of Paḥnutu in Egypt, 1, 105.
- Dašba, a city in Elam, 5, 44.
- Dibirina, a city in Elam, 4, 117.
- Dimasḡa, Damascus, city to which A. took the captives of Ḳedar and the nomad Atarsamajain, 9, 8.
- Dimtu ša Simani, "Pillar of Siman," city in Elam, 7, 66.
- Din-šarri, a city in Elam, 5, 85.

Dummuḫu, a city in Elam, 4, 116.

Dunanu, king of Gambulu, who entered into alliance with Teumman, a usurper in Elam, against Assyria, 3, 52 ff.

Dunjaš, a Babylonian deity; only in the name Kar-<sup>ia</sup> Dunjaš.

Dunnu Šamaš, "Powerful is Šamaš," a city in Elam, 7, 64.

Dunšarri, a city in Elam, 5, 53, 7, 59.

Dur-Amnani, a city in Elam, 5, 45.

Dur-Amnanim, a city in Elam, 5, 45.

Dur-Undasima, a city in Elam, 5, 54.

Ea, god of the ancient pantheon, but generally omitted in the prayers of Ašurbanipal.

E-anna, temple of Nanā at Erech, to which she was restored by A. after having been in the possession of the Elamites for 1635 years, 6, 115.

Edugli-anna, "House of the abundance of heaven," an epithet of Eanna in Erech, 6, 123.

E-id-kid, a temple of Nineveh; to what divinity it was erected is not known. Perhaps identical with Emašmaš, 10, 28.

Elamtu, land of Elam, 3, 27 ff. For history of Elam during the reign of A., see Ummanigaš and Teumman.

Emašmaš, "House of the oath," temple of Ishtar at Nineveh, 10, 25.

Enziḫarme, a city of Ḳedar, 9, 30.

Erech, seat of the Nanā worship, 6, 122.

Erisinnu, son of Uallū and grandson of Aḫšēru, king of the Mannai, 3, 18.

Gambula(u), a grazing and mountainous country bordering on Elam, capital city Šapibēl, 3, 52.

Gatudu, a city in Elam, 5, 43.

Gatuduma, a city in Elam, 5, 43.

Gimirā [v. Del. Grammar, 65, 37], Cimmerian; people of Cimmeria, ancient foes of Lydia, who were defeated by Gugu, 2, 104.

Girra, ancient Babylonian pest god, held in great reverence by the Assyrians. Ašurbanipal compelled the Babylonians to sacrifice to him, 3, 113, 4, 79, 9, 57, 82.

Gugu, Gyges, Gog, king of Lud, 2, 95.

Gula, goddess whose feast-day was on the 12th of Ajaru, 1, 12.

Gurukirra, a city in Elam, 7, 63.

Gutū, a district of the <sup>ma</sup>Aharrū which joined the confederacy of Sammuges, 3, 103.

Hadattu, a city in Arabia, one hundred double marches from Nineveh, 800 miles according to my estimate. See Kaskal-git in the Glossary of Ašurbanipal.

Ḫaialilsi, a city in Elam, 5, 47.

Ḫaltimaš, a royal city in Elam, 5, 83, 6, 96.

Ḫamanu, a city in Elam, 5, 46, 68, 7, 64.

- Hara', a city in Elam, 5, 56.  
 Hargê, a city in Arabia, mentioned in connection with Moab and Ammon, 7, 113.  
 Harsijaešu, prince of Tunûtu in Egypt, 1, 98.  
 Hartabanu, a city in Elam, 5, 77.  
 Haṭhirib, a city in Egypt, 1, 94.  
 Haṭhariba, perhaps identical with the preceding city, 2, 18.  
 Haurina, a city in Arabia, mentioned in connection with Moab, Edom, and Ammon, 7, 111.  
 Hidalu, a city in Elam, 5, 116.  
 Hilakka, Cilician, inhabitant of Cilicia, 2, 75.  
 Hilmu, a city in Elam, 4, 116.  
 Himunu, a city in Egypt, 1, 107.  
 Hininšu, a city in Egypt, 1, 95.  
 Hirataḫaza, a city in Arabia, mentioned in connection with Edom, 7, 109. But it may be a sanctuary of Girra in Assyria. See Azaran.  
 Hukkuru, a mountain in Ḳedar, where A. captured the Arabian generals Abijatu and Aimu, 9, 15.  
 Hulhultu, a city in Ḳedar, about 50 miles south of Damascus, 9, 121.  
 Humba, in the name of the city Til-Humba, 7, 68.  
 Hunnir, a city in Elam, east of the river Idide, 5, 115.  
 Hurarina, a city of Arabia, in the land of Maš, 8, 107.  
 Huru, name of a god occurring in the proper name Pišan-Huru, "Mouth of Houris," 1, 92.  
 Iaprudu, a city in Arabia, mentioned between Edom and Ammon, near which was a mountain pass, where A. defeated the forces of Uāti', 7, 110.  
 Iarku, a city in Arabia, in the land of Maš, 8, 107.  
 Ibrat, a city in Elam, 7, 62.  
 Idide, a small but rapid and unfordable river in south Elam, 5, 74.  
 Imbappu, general of Ummanaldas, taken prisoner at the capture of Bit-Imbi, 5, 1.  
 Imbû, name of a well-known person in Elamite history, after whom the city Bit-Imbi was named.  
 Indabigaš, a usurper of the throne of Elam during the rebellion of Sammuges. He drove the former usurper, Teumman, from the country, but seems to have lost the throne to Ummanaldas, 4, 11.  
 Iptiḫardešu, prince of Piḫaltiḫurunpiku, 1, 103.  
 Irrāna, a city in Ḳedar, 9, 30.  
 Irša-Kiša, *i. e.*, maḫāzu ša Kiša, a city in Elam, 7, 67.  
 Isamme', an Arabian tribe, 8, 111.  
 Išpimātu, prince of Tainu in Egypt, 1, 108.  
 Ištār of Arbela, whom A. frequently consulted for oracles, 3, 5.  
 Ištār of Nineveh, 1, 15.  
 Ištār gitmuri, 1, 16; gitmuri from גִּתְמִיר, with infixed ת, Ištār, queen of totality.



Ištār-dūri, king of Urardu, who sent tribute and submitted to A. after the Arabian campaign, 10, 40.

Ištattu, a city of the Mannai, 3, 1.

Izirtu, a city of the Mannai, 2, 131.

Jakinū, king of Arwad, in the Mediterranean Sea; submitted to A. and sent his sons and daughters to Nineveh as slaves and courtiers, 2, 63, 81.

Jaḥišku, son of Ba'lu, king of Tyre, given by his father to A. as a slave, and restored to his father by Ashurbanipal.

Kabinak, a city in Elam, 5, 89.

Kabrina, a city in Elam, 5, 56.

Kabrinama, a city in Elam, 5, 56.

Kaldu, Chaldea, mentioned as distinct from Akkad and Babylon, 3, 97.

Kaniṣu, a city in Elam, 7, 65.

Kar-Banīti, a city in Egypt, to which A. first came in his expedition against Tarḫu, 1, 77.

Kar-Dunjaš, "Plain of Dunjaš," name of northern Babylonia, 6, 8.

Karsa, a city in Elam, 6, 39.

Katattu, name of a person; only in the name Bit-Kitatti, 7, 67.

Ḳedar, land of Ḳedar, about fifty miles south of Damascus, 8, 15.

Kindarbu, a city in Elam, 6, 43.

Kipkip, a city in Egypt, to which Urdamanu fled from Ni'; destroyed by Ashurbanipal, 2, 37.

Kirsamas, a city in Elam, 6, 39.

Kisā, name of a person; only in the name of the city, Irša-Kisā, 7, 67.

Ḳūsu, Cush = Ethiopia, 1, 53.

Kuṣurten, a city of Elam, near Bit-Imbi, 7, 59.

Kūtha, a city of Babylonia which joined the confederacy of Sammuges, 3, 130.

Lagamaru, an Elamite deity, 6, 33.

Laḥira, a city in Elam, 4, 117.

Lamentu, prefect of Ḫimunu, 1, 107.

Laribda, a city in Arabia to which A. came from Ḫadattu, 8, 101.

Madaktu, an important city of Elam, capital of the usurping line of kings, Indabigaš and Ummanaldas, who, when they were in power, changed the capital from Susa to this place. The city was finally sacked by Ashurbanipal, 5, 49, 81.

Makan, land against which A. made his first expedition, 1, 52. Mentioned with Meluḫḫu and Egypt, therefore probably in south Arabia.

Manḥabbu, a city in Ḳedar where A. found water, 9, 27.

Mannāi, a nomad and probably Aryan tribe which pressed upon Assyria from the north. Ashurbanipal made an expedition against them in 665-4, 2, 126 ff.

- Mantimeanḫu, prefect of Ni' in Egypt, 1, 109.  
 Marḫana, "Lord of possessions," a city in Ḳedar, 9, 29.  
 Marduk-apal-idinna, grandfather of Nabû-bêl-šumê, 7, 17.  
 Maš, a part of Arabia, described as desolate. The cities Ḥadatta, Laribda, Ḥurarina, and Azalla were located on oases in Maš, 8, 87, 108.  
 Mazutu, a city in Elam, 7, 60.  
 Meluḫḫu, a country west of Babylonia, in the Sinai peninsula, 3, 103.  
 Mentioned with Makan as near to Egypt, 1, 52.  
 Mēmpi, Memphis, in Egypt, 1, 60, 78.  
 Muaba, Moab, 7, 112.  
 Mugallu, king of Tabalu, 2, 68.  
 Nabâtî, land of the Nabataeans, in western Arabia, 7, 125, 8, 48.  
 Nabirtu, an Elamite deity, 6, 43.  
 Nabu, patron deity of Ašurbanipal, god of wisdom, 1, 31, and interpreter of oracles written on the crescent of the moon, 3, 121.  
 Nabû-bêl-šume, grandson of Merodachbaladan. He joined with the king of Elam, Ummanaldas, against A., and after their defeat ordered his slave to slay him at Madaktu. His body was beheaded by A. and sent to Nineveh, where it was hung about the neck of his fellow-conspirator, Nabû-ḫati-šabat, 7, 16.  
 Nabû-ḫati-šabat, a courtier and high-priest at the court of Sammuges, 7, 47.  
 Nabûna'id, son of Nabû-šum-eriš; carried in fetters to Nineveh from Šapîbêl after the defeat of Teumman and Dunanu, 3, 62.  
 Nabu-šeziḫ-anni, son of Niku, to whom A. gave the government of Haṭṭariba, 2, 17.  
 Nabû-šum-eriš, a high official of Dunanu, in Šapîbêl, 3, 63.  
 Nadḫu, a city in Egypt, ruled by Pišanḫuru.  
 Nadi', a city in Elam, 5, 44.  
 Naditu, a city in south Elam, 5, 77.  
 Nadnu, king of the Nabataeans, who made alliance with Sammuges and Abijatu. Being terrified at the second invasion of Arabia by A. in 660, he sent tokens of obedience. Ašurbanipal says that he lived in a very distant place, 8, 56.  
 Naḫḫê, prince of Ḥininšu, in Egypt, 1, 95.  
 Naḫtiḫuru-ansini, prince of Pišapdia, in Egypt, 1, 104.  
 Nanâ, Sumerian name of the Semitic Ištar, goddess of Erech, 6, 107.  
 Napsa, an Elamite deity, 6, 42.  
 Nathu, a city in Egypt, ruled by Unamu, 1, 97.  
 Ni'i, Thebes in Egypt, fortified by Urdamanu, 2, 23, 1, 88, 109.  
 Nikû, Necho, prince of Memphis and Sai, 1, 90. Captured by the Assyrians in the second rebellion of Tarku and taken to Nineveh. Ašurbanipal restored him to the government of Sai, 2, 8.  
 Ninib, pest god, called the spear, great warrior, son of Bêl, 9, 84.  
 Nirba or Nisaba, a grain god, 1, 48.  
 Nusku, a deity of the Assyrian pantheon, 2, 129, 9, 86.

Pa'e, king of Elam, contemporary of Ummanaldas; evidently king of the northern part, while Ummanaldas retained his capitol at Madaktu, 7, 51.

Paḥnutu, a city in Egypt, under the prefect Bukurninip, 1, 105.

Pakruru, king of Pišaptu, 1, 93.

Panintimru, an Elamite deity, 6, 41.

Partikira, an Elamite deity, 6, 34.

Pidilmu, a city in Elam, 5, 87.

Piḥattiḥurūn-piku, a city of Egypt, ruled by Iptehardešu, 1, 103.

Pindidu, a city in Egypt, 1, 99, 134.

Pir-Ramman, father of Uti', 8, 2. "Seed of Ramman."

Pišamilku. See under Tušamilku.

Pišanḥuru, king of the city Nadḥu, in Egypt, 1, 92.

Pišapdin, a city in Egypt, ruled by Naḥtiḥuru.<sup>11a</sup> Sini.

Pišaptu, a city in Egypt, 1, 93.

Ramman, 1, 6, 2, 128, glossed by Da-ad-da, 9, 2.

Rašu, a land of south Elam, 5, 67.

Ragibu, an Elamite deity, 6, 38.

Sa'arru, a city in western Arabia, mentioned after Moab, 7, 112.

Sabakū, sister of Tarḫu, king of Egypt, and the mother of Urdamant, 2, 22.

Sadatēn, a city of Arabia, in Ḳedar, 9, 29.

Sai, a city in Egypt, ruled by Necho, 1, 90.

Salatru, an inaccessible mountain in southwestern Elam, 7, 72.

Šamaš-šum-ukin, appointed prefect of Babylon by Ašurbanipal [664]. Allied himself with Ummanigaš of Elam and formed a confederacy with Akkad, Chaldea, Aram, the sea-coast countries from the city Akaba to Babsalimetu, the kings of Gutu and Meluḥḥu. Utterly defeated, but not subdued, and formed another coalition in 660, when he was besieged in Babylon and captured, 3, 70 ff.

Šamaš-udannin-anni, name of the prefect of Akkad, whose name was made the eponym of the year 660 B. C.

Šamgunu, var., Sam'gunu, brother of Dunānu, king of Gambulu, 3, 57.

Šamunu, a city in Elam, 5, 55.

Sandasarmu, king of Cilicia, 2, 75.

Sapadiba'al, son of Jakinlt.

Sapak, an Elamite deity, 6, 35.

Šapiḥel, capitol and fortress of Gambula. Destroyed by A. by damming up the river near by and flooding the city, 3, 54.

Šarru-ludaru, "May the king live forever," king of Si'nu.

Sijautu, a city in Egypt, under the prefect Ziḥu.

Silagaru, an Elamite deity, 6, 42.

Simamt, name of a person, only in the name Dimtu ša Simamē.

Sin-aḥi-erib, father of Esarhaddon and grandfather of A., slain at the statue of the great bull in Nineveh, 1, 25, 4, 71; called the conqueror of Bit-Imbi, 4, 126.

Sinu, an Egyptian deity, appearing in the name Nahtiburu-<sup>ua</sup> Sini.

Si'nu, a city in Egypt, 1, 92.

Sippar, city north of Babylon, fortified by Sammuges, 3, 107.

Sirius, so Jensen calls the Bow star, <sup>mul</sup> BAN; called the daughter of Sin, 9, 9.

Subahtu, a city in Elam, 7, 68.

Sudanu, an Elamite deity, 6, 40.

Sulu, a city in Elam, 4, 117.

Šumir, south Babylonia, 6, 7.

Sumudu, an Elamite deity, 6, 33.

Sungursartu, an Elamite deity, 6, 38.

Šušān, Susa, capitol of Elam, 3, 41. Here A. found treasures which had been plundered and taken from Babylonia for ages by seven different invasions of the Elamites, 5, 84, 49.

Šušinak, chief god of Elam (v. *JAOS.*, XXIV, p. 99), 6, 30.

Susinḫu, prefect of Buširu, in Egypt, 1, 100, 110.

Tabalu, a country on the Mediterranean Sea, mentioned in connection with Arwad and Cilicia, 2, 68.

Tabnahtu, prince of Punupu, 1, 101.

Taḫanu, a city of Egypt, ruled by Išpimaḫu.

Tammaritu, son of Urtaku and third brother of Ummanigaš, the legitimate heir of the throne of Elam. When Ummanigaš was placed on the throne at Susa from which he had been deprived by Teumman the usurper, Ashurbanipal placed Tammaritu over the important city Ḫidalu. When Ummanigaš joined the Babylonian confederacy of Sammuges, Tammaritu slew him, but still pursued a policy hostile to Assyria. He was driven out by Indabigaš, a usurper, who changed the capitol to Madaktu. Indabigaš then lost the throne to Ummanaldas, who kept the capitol at Madaktu until A. invaded Elam and restored the kingdom to Tammiritu, who again reigned at Susa as prefect of Assyria. He rebelled a second time, and A. invaded the land and seized the capitol, but the fate of Tammaritu is not given. He is heard of again in the Annals of the year 660, when he with three other kings were driven like horses hitched to a chariot, 6, 55.

Ta'nā, a city of Arabia, in Ḳedar, 9, 30.

Taraḫu, a city in Elam, 5, 46.

Tarku, king of Egypt and Ethiopia, who was subdued by Esarhaddon and rebelled in the early years of the reign of Ašurbanipal. He was routed at the battle of Memphis, whence he fled to Ethiopia, where he plotted against Assyria again. Necho, an Egyptian prince, and many others were drawn into the rebellion, but were captured by A.'s generals and sent to Nineveh. Ašurbanipal restored Necho to Egypt and made him prefect of Sais. Tarku died suddenly after his second defeat, and Urdamant, son of Šabakt, succeeded to the throne at Thebes, 1, 53 ff.

Tasarru, a city in Elam, 5, 113.

Temen-Marduk-šarrāni, "The foundation of the lord of kings," a city in Elam, 5, 50.

Tenukuru, a city in Ʒedar, 9, 28.

Te'ru, father of Abijatu and Aimu, the Arabian generals who were sent to aid Sammuges, 7, 97.

Teumman, a usurper, who slew Urtaku and seized the throne of Elam, 3, 36.

Til-tūpu, a city in Elam, 5, 52.

Tunūtu, a city in Egypt, 1, 98.

Tūpu, a city in Elam, 5, 52, 80.

Tušamilku, mistake for Pišamilku, *i. e.*, Psammetich, king of Egypt, successor of Urdamanū; rebelled against Assyria in 666 and made an alliance with Gog of Lydia.

Uallū, son of Aḫšeru and king of the Mannai, 3, 11.

(1) Uāti', son of Pir-Ramman and king of Arabia; his forces were led by Abijatu and Aimu in the rebellion of Sammuges. When Sammuges was defeated Uāti' fled to Nabataea, 7, 83; he was finally surrounded and captured and taken to Nineveh, where he was horribly mangled by having his cheeks pierced, 9, 93 ff.

(2) Uāti', cousin of Uāti' (1) and son of Ḫazan; appointed himself king of Arabia on the flight of his uncle to Nabataea. He also rebelled, but was captured and taken to Nineveh, 8, 1 ff.

Udumu, Edom, 7, 109.

Uduran, an Elamite deity, 6, 35.

Ula, a river running through Susa, in Elam, 3, 42.

Umbadaru, called the father of Ummanigaš; but the father of U. is given elsewhere as Urtaku. The writer evidently confused the names of the kings of Elam, 6, 52.

Umbakilua, a prince of the ancient line of Urtaku in Elam, who, when Ummanaldas set up a rebellious line at Madaktu, maintained the royal line at a small city, Bubilū. He fled before A. and took refuge in an island in the Persian Gulf, 5, 15-20.

Ummanaldas, a usurper of the throne of Elam, who changed the capital from Susa to Madaktu, 4, 12 ff.

Ummanigaš, son of Urtaku, and legitimate heir to the throne of Elam. He was slain by his brother, Tammaritu, who succeeded to the throne.

Unamunu, prince of Naḫū, in Egypt, 1, 97.

Unu, a city of Egypt, fortified by Urdamanu, 2, 33.

Unza, only in the name of the city Bit-Unza; name of a person, 7, 61.

Urardu, Armenia, land north of the Mannai, near Mt. Ararrat, 10, 40.

Urdaliku, a city in Elam, 5, 51.

Urtaku, king of Elam, father of Ummanigaš and Tammaritu, 3, 44.

Ussun, an Elamite deity, 6, 37, more particularly of the land and people than the list of 6, 30-35, who appear to be particularly asso-

ciated with the kings of Susa. The list in 6 37-43 includes both gods and goddesses.

Ušû, a city on the seacoast of Arabia; captured by A. on his return to Nineveh from the expedition which set out from Damascus on the 3d of Abib, about July 23, 660, 9, 115.

Za'nu, a city in Egypt, 1, 96, 134.

Zauran, a city of Kedar, 9, 28.

Zihâ, prince of the city Siġautu, in Egypt, 1, 106.

Zi'nu, a city in Egypt, 1, 91.

Zubitu, a city in Arabia, mentioned with Edom, Moab, and Ammon, 7, 114.

## General Notes.

### ORIGINAL WAW IN ל"ה VERBS.

It is a familiar fact that in Arabic and Ethiopic the ל"ה verbs of the Hebrew appear in their earlier form as ו"י and ו"י verbs. Even in these languages, however, they are weak verbs, for ו and י undergo various changes. In Ethiopic the two classes of verbs are entirely distinct, but in Arabic the tendency of ו to pass over into ی has already begun to manifest itself, as is seen uniformly in the derived stems, and in some forms of the simple stem. In Hebrew this tendency has gone much farther, so that usually י has taken the place of ו, and verbs originally ו"י are treated entirely like those ל"י. It is well known, however, that there are some traces of original ו in both verbs and nouns from ל"ה roots. It seems to the writer that some other cases of this kind may be added to those ordinarily recognized.

Brief reference may be made to such traces of this use as are familiar. ו is retained as a consonant in a few ל"ה verbs, as in part of the inflection of שָׁלַח, in the Hithpāl'el forms of שָׁחַח, etc. In three verbs, עָשָׂה, צָפָה, and נָטָה, occur forms of the Qāl passive participle with ו either as a consonant or contracted, such as עֹשֶׂה, צֹפֶה, נֹטֶה (K.), see Ges.-K., § 75v. ו is also retained as a consonant in several nouns, such as עֲרֹה, עֵר, etc. It also appears in some nouns in the ending ו, probably from contraction with ו, such as שְׂחָה, בְּחָה, etc.

In most of the forms already mentioned, at any rate, the corresponding root in the Arabic has و. Whether this is always so or not need not be discussed at this point, a few forms from ל"י roots, made from the analogy of the ו"י verbs, would not affect the argument. The fact remains that in the aggregate considerable traces are found in Hebrew of the original ו in ל"ה verbs. There is, then, no inherent improbability that there might be other cases of the same kind. Two classes of forms may be suggested which seem to the writer to show such traces.

One class of such forms is the infinitive construct of ל"ה verbs, קָטַח. The usual explanations of ו here are entirely inadequate. According to the explanation now suggested, the form comes from the contraction of קָטַח. In favor of this form as the original, it may be noted that the vowel of the second radical, =, is thus the same as in the imperfect and imperative of these verbs, according to the view of most scholars. It may also be noted that the feminine ending when added to an infinitive is often simply in the form of ת. It should further be

observed that in the form קטור the Hölēm is ordinarily written fully, which is much more common when it comes from contraction than from obscuration.

In the perfect of verbs with original ך, such forms as קטורת, contracted from קטורת, would be expected, instead of the usual form קטרת, contracted from קטרת. No such form with the vowel ך occurs. There are perfects, however, with a ך before the affix, the origin of which has been difficult of explanation. "Eine befriedigende Erklärung dieser Trennungsvokale ist noch nicht gelungen."<sup>1</sup> These are the perfects of the ק"ע verb in all the stems, and of the ק"ע verb in the Niph'al and Hiph'il. It is probable, as many have maintained, that the ך found in the imperfects and imperatives of the same verbs is from the analogy of the ק"ע verbs. The writer would suggest that this ך is also to be so regarded, being taken not from the ק"ע verb, but from the ק"ע. It need occasion no surprise that the analogous formation has remained, while the original one has been lost. This is sufficiently natural when formations by analogy are so common as they are in Hebrew, and, in fact, in all the Semitic languages.

It is probable that the ק"ע forms had become few when the vowel was taken by the ק"ע and ק"ע verbs. For the addition of this vowel in these verbs in the Hebrew is evidently a late formation, as is indicated by the fact that there are few if any similar forms in the other Semitic languages. That a relatively infrequent formation should be taken by one occurring more frequently has numerous parallels. "Indessen geschieht es nicht so selten, dass gerade die wenigen Formen über die zahlreicheren siegen: so haben vor Suffix und in konstruierter Stellung im Hebräischen und Aramäischen die Dualformen über die Pluralformen und der Plur. sanus über den Plur. fractus beim Substantiv gesiegt, obwohl der letztere im genannten Dialekt, wie thatsächlich im Südsemitischen, einmal wahrscheinlich weit zahlreicher als der erstere war."<sup>2</sup>

GEORGE RICKER BERRY.

COLGATE UNIVERSITY,  
May 15, 1904.

#### SISINNU = "HORSEBIRD" = OSTRICH.

In III R. 15, I, 15, we have reference to the si-si-in-ni bird; the king compares his onset to the rush of this great bird. For the reading si-si-in-ni as against si-er-in-ni (Delitzsch), cf. Robert Francis Harper (Dissertation), 1888, and Haupt in *BAS.*, I, 167, where Harper's reading si-si-in-ni is confirmed by both Haupt and Pinches. Haupt has conjectured that this form is a derivative from sisu, "horse;" si-si-in-nu = sisenu = sisānu: we are consequently to read it "horse-bird." There is reason to suspect the conjecture is well-founded. In

<sup>1</sup> Ges.-K., § 67d, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Lindberg, *Vergleichende Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, S. 134, n. 1.



the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1903, E. H. Parker discusses Chinese knowledge of early Persia, giving some interesting translations from early Chinese historians. The kingdom of Persia is called An-sih (= Ar-sak, Arsaces) by them; the first Chinese envoy visiting it about 140 B. C., and the earliest history being compiled before 85 B. C. This early envoy is impressed with the "great bird's eggs." The next reference is in a history of the early Han dynasty (B. C. 206-A. D. 25). This history is brought down to A. D. 5; and in the accounts of visits to the Persian empire the envoys are impressed with the "great horse-birds" of that region. The accounts are noteworthy for minuteness and general accuracy, and for their efforts to give local names of things or places seen. In the history of the later Han dynasty (A. D. 25-220) presents of lions and "great T'iao-chi birds" are mentioned, with "great bird-eggs like jars." These birds, the writer tells us, were later known in China as 'An-sih birds' (Persian birds). He leaves us in no doubt as to the identity of T'iao-chi: "From the Pamirs westward are Ta-yüan, An-sih, T'iao-chi, and Wu-yi. These four states in this order lie west, being the original states, without increase or diminution. . . . Former generations absurdly held that T'iao-chi was more powerful than An-sih; but now, far from being so, it is vassal to the latter, and is styled the western limit of An-sih." We know whence these great birds were obtained. In the next history referring to this region, dealing with the period A. D. 400-650, we are again told of "great bird-eggs. There is a great bird like a camel, having two wings which enable it to fly along, but not to rise. It eats grass and flesh; it can also swallow fire." In A. D. 620 we again hear of tribute or presents of great birds' eggs from An-sih.

In these accounts the ostrich is unmistakable. The Chinese historians for 800 years seem peculiarly impressed with it. They at first understand it to be the "horse-bird." They later call it, in China, the Persian bird. Its habitat is understood to be the decayed empire immediately west of Persia. The detailed description, when the name "horse-bird" has become obsolete, suggesting that the bird looks like a camel, recalls the *στρουθιο-καμήλος*, or "camel-bird," of Diodorus, Strabo, and Pliny. It is not impossible that the *sisinnu* may be the bird shown to the Chinese envoys; and the rush of an angry ostrich affords an excellent simile for the royal charge. Xenophon also (*Anabasis*, I, 5, 3) mentions the ostrich as abundant along the Euphrates, 150 miles below Thapsacus; and his description of its running "using its wings as a sail," is parallel to the Chinese historian's description of "a great bird like a camel."

amēlu KUL = ḥēpû = WOODCUTTER.

In the *Code of Hammurabi*, 39, 29, Harper reads the workman as an amēlu KUL. The sign KUL has as its principal meanings, abātu, ḥabātu, ḥipû, "to destroy, remove, break down, cut down." We have also the PUR.KUL (*HWB.*, 542) = a stone-cutter; and in Brünnow, No. 6973, we observe that PUR = abnu, "stone." Hence the syllable KUL has the meaning "cut" or "hew" in this borrowed Sumerian

compound. In Brünnow, No. 12135, ŠA.KUL = aḫḫullu, which Delitzsch, *HWB.*, 123, defines as a hatchet, mattock, or pickaxe. ŠA.KUL is evidently "that which hews," or "to cut something." In Brünnow, No. 12138, we have an <sup>amēlu</sup>ŠA.KUL.AG.A defined as a ḥēpū. As AG.A is a common termination of compound ideograms, meaning "to use, strike with, act, put in action," the analysis of the ideogram suggests that the ḥēpū is "the man who uses the KUL," or aḫḫullu. It is a legitimate inference that <sup>amēlu</sup>KUL is but a briefer method of saying the same thing; and we may venture to define this ideogram then as a ḥēpū, or "hewer." We further know that clearing away stones was not a feature of daily labor in the alluvial plains of Babylonia; and such unwonted employment would not naturally occur in the standard wage-scale. Further, the passages quoted by Delitzsch for aḫḫullu suggest exceptional uses of the tool. But the reed plays an enormous part in the cuneiform literature and allusions to cutting reeds may be found in various ideograms in Brünnow. The <sup>amēlu</sup>KUL of the Hammurabi Code we may fairly account to be a "hewer of wood," as the AV English Bible phrases it; a cutter of reeds, or one who clears away bushes or makes faggots.

A. H. GODBEY.

#### ISAIAH 66:11.

The word מִלֵּךְ is commonly translated "fulness," but is supposed by many to mean "mother's breast" from the fact that it is used as a synonym of מִדֵּן in this passage. The word has been connected with vulgar Arabic zize, *udder*, but it is not yet accepted generally that the word means breast or teat since no good reason could be given for such meaning beyond the context in this passage.

However, a passage in a yet unpublished text by Professor Craig at last clears up the matter by supplying a clear Semitic parallel. In K. 1285, Rev., lines 6-8, Prof. Craig's *Religious Texts*, page 6 of Vol. 1, occurs the following passage:

6. ṣiḥru'atta Ashurbanipal ša umaššir-ka bēlūti-ka ilu šarrat Ninua

7. lakū'atta Ashurbanipal ša ašba-ka in purki šarrat Ninua

8. irbi zizi-e ša ina pi-ka šakna te-en-ni-iḫ taḫallap ana pani-ka.

(6) A babe art thou Ashurbanipal unto whom the queen of Nineveh hath left a kingdom; (7) a meek babe art thou Ashurbanipal whose seat is on the lap of the queen of Nineveh; (8) the outflow of the teat which is in thy mouth thou suckest, thou hidest thy face in it.

This text settles the meaning of the word in Hebrew beyond all further discussion.

STEPHEN LANGDON.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,  
April 28, 1904.

## Exploration and Discovery.

### REPORT FROM BISMYA. II.

DR. E. J. BANKS, Field Director of the Expedition (Babylonian Section) of the Oriental Exploration Fund of the University of Chicago, has made the following reports from Bismya:

#### REPORT NO. 14.

"BISMYA, April 1, 1904.

"Since my report of last week we have worked five days in III, clearing out the various rooms and streets as we have come to them. Among the finds of the week is a tomb in which a number of objects were found. . . .

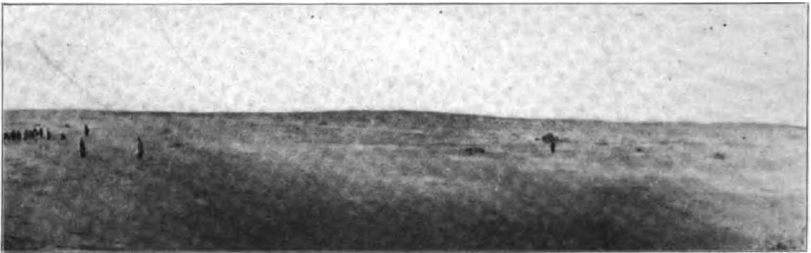


FIG. 1.—Panorama of the Mound of Bismya, Looking Northeast.

"Another object of interest is a marble statuette of a seated figure, apparently a reproduction of the larger statues from the temple. The hands are folded; the hair is braided and hanging down at the sides; and the skirt is provided with folds. It has no inscription. We have also found a headless terra-cotta statuette of the same form, but this I take to be much later.

"I am inclosing a copy of an inscription on a seal cylinder which was also found in III, and of a perfect tablet upon which I think I see the name of Dungi, king of Ur, as upon the bricks of the temple.

"The ruins in this part (III) of Bismya, although very deep, contain inscribed objects only near the surface, and those objects, usually of the greatest antiquity, are few in number, and are found in groups as if forming private collections. . . . The only places where tablets of a later date have been discovered are in Palace I, and a few days ago I discovered two

tablets with late Babylonian writing in a small conical mound near the west corner.

"In comparing the archaic characters on the fragments of vases from the temple with those found at Nippur, I am convinced that we have inscriptions as old, if not older, than any from Nippur. It therefore seems advisable to search as thoroughly as possible in the lower strata of the temple. . . . I have decided to put all of the men at work in the temple, with the hopes of finding the body of another statue or other inscribed vase fragments, and I see no reason why the temple should not be thoroughly excavated at once. I would estimate a month's time with the present number of workmen sufficient. . . .

"Apart from some walls of mud bricks far below the surface of the temple hill, the lowest stratum of a more substantial material consists of scattered blocks of white limestone, which I take to be the foundation of a temple constructed before burned bricks were employed at Bismya. Above this layer of limestone is a meter of clay, upon which rests a solid wall of well-preserved plano-convex bricks, reaching in places to the height of nearly two meters. These bricks are generally considered to antedate Sargon and Naram Sin. Near the level of the top of the wall of plano-convex bricks, but reaching to a considerable distance out to the sides, is the foundation of a temple constructed of long grooved bricks, which I take to be the development of the plano-convex bricks. In a chamber of this temple I found the inscription of Naram Sin, and I am inclined to believe that this foundation was constructed by him. Above it is another of square bricks, some of which are inscribed



FIG. 2.—The Northwest Trench.

with the name of Dungi, king of Ur. Above Dungi's foundation I can find nothing of a later date, and if any structure ever existed upon it, it has been worn away by the weather and carried off by the strong winds.

"We therefore have traces of four builders who employed material more substantial than clay. A careful examination of the bricks may reveal traces of others.



FIG. 3.—The Trench in the Southwest Side of the Temple.

"The most interesting thing about the temple is that below the layer of clay upon which the pre-Sargonic temple rests is a stratum of debris in which the large statue and the greater part of the fragments of the inscribed vases were found. The conclusion, then, is that the statue and vases belonged to the temple of limestone blocks, and that, when it was destroyed to make room for the temple of plano-convex bricks, these objects were broken and buried in its ruins. We may then give tentative dates to the various foundations. Beginning at the top:

"The First is of Dungi, 2750 B. C.

"The Second possibly of Naram Sin, 3750 (?) B. C.

"The Third, of plano-convex bricks, in the fourth

millennium B. C.

"The Fourth, of stone blocks, possibly from the fifth millennium B. C.

...

"I cannot too strongly urge the necessity of more money immediately, for, apart from the extremely great success of the excavations, it is next to impossible to carry on the work with the sum now at my disposal. I have reduced the number of watchmen to three and the soldiers to two for the purpose of cutting down my expenses, and for the same reason I have not

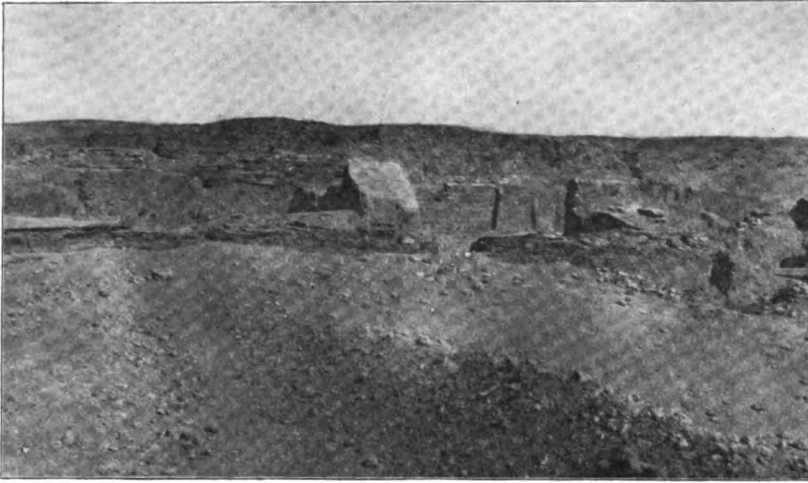


FIG. 4.—The Southeast Side of the Temple.



FIG. 5.—Looking from the Temple across the Canal Bed to the North.



FIG. 6.—Marble Door Socket.

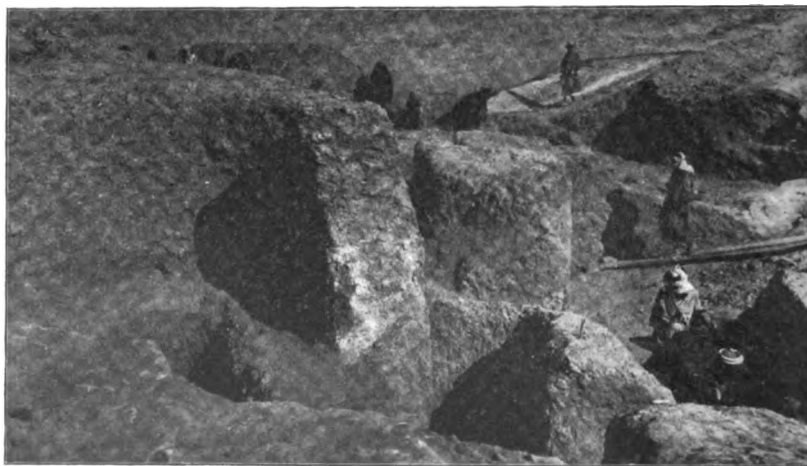


FIG. 7.—The Statue was Found at the Base of the Corner Wall in the Center of the Photograph.

purchased a horse, which is a necessity. The workmen number about 120, and in case of an attack, which may occur any day, it is not sufficient for protection. An increase of the workmen would decrease the dangers to which we are exposed. To prolong the work here after two years . . . . seems an unnecessary exposure of life and health, for there is no part of Mesopotamia more inhospitable than this. Personally I do not mind the dangers nor the fierce sandstorms, but I believe it is for the best interests of the University to complete the work here while we have the irade. . . .

REPORT NO. 16.

"BISMYA, April 15, 1904.

"Since my last report we have worked at the temple five and one-half days with a force of 120 men, and the results have been more satisfactory

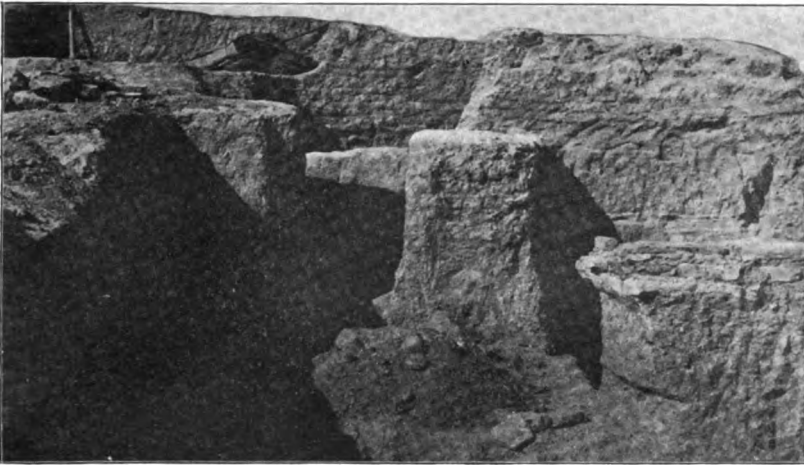


FIG. 8.—Tomb on the Northwest Side of the Temple.

than I anticipated. I am inclosing copies of four inscriptions taken from fragments of vases, all of which were found outside an inner wall near the north corner of the temple inclosure. Along this wall we are finding fragments of marble vases of various sizes and shapes, and with them fragments of plano-convex bricks, indicating that when the temple in which these bricks were employed, was razed, the rubbish was dumped outside the wall. It is this dump which we are now excavating, and although we have hardly begun it, we have discovered four inscribed fragments, one perfect marble vase, an engraved marble lamp, nearly perfect, the hind parts of two marble bulls, and several basketfuls of fragments of white marble, onyx, soap and sandstone vases, and of other objects. Very little terra-cotta is found in this ancient stratum, and I am anticipating valuable results.






"Near the same place we have uncovered a drain built of plano-convex bricks, and a few centimeters above it is a second drain identical in construction, excepting the bricks employed are larger and marked with two grooves running parallel with the longer sides. Thus I have a clue to the markings on the bricks—something for which I have long been working. It is thus evident that the earliest of the grooved bricks were marked with two parallel lines. It is now certain that after the temple of plano-convex bricks was destroyed, the site witnessed at least five reconstructions or additions before the time when other bricks were employed. The bricks

of these five builders were marked as follows:



In no case are the bricks of one stamp used with those of another or on the same level. I am expecting to find traces of three other builders whose

bricks are marked    for bricks of this description are found

elsewhere in the ruins of Bismya. If, as is generally supposed, the bricks employed by Sargon and Naram Sin were very large and square—two varieties of which have been found in the temple—we have traces of at least five kings who reconstructed the temple between the time when the plano-convex bricks were discarded and the reign of Sargon, and perhaps a clue to the date of the first brick temple.

"The excavation of the temple should be nearly finished within the next ten days. We are now sinking a shaft in the very center of the hill, digging out the perpendicular drains and following about the inner walls of the inclosure." . . .

#### REPORT NO. 17.

"BISMYA, April 22, 1904.

"Since my last report we have worked at the temple four full days and two half-days with 122 men. Of the finds the most striking object is a large bronze spike terminating in a finely shaped lion, a design of which I am inclosing. The spike is forty-eight centimeters long. It may bear upon its right side an inscription in raised characters, like Hittite, but the raised parts are more likely the result of corrosion. Whether it is inscribed or not, it is an object of very great value, especially as it was found two and one-half meters below the platform of plano-convex bricks, in the pit which we are digging in the center of the hill. It must antedate this temple, and is therefore one of the most ancient bronze objects. . . .

"During this week four of the gangs were employed at the north corner of the inclosure in what I have termed the dump of the plano-convex brick

temple. On the northwest side of the platform of this very ancient temple is an inclined plane leading up to it, and when the temple was razed, its ruins were dumped in the corner at its side. About fifteen basketfuls of the fragments of marble vases have been recovered; among them are six inscribed fragments, copies of which I am inclosing, together with the copy



FIG. 9.—A Large Vase of Rope Pottery *in situ* at III.

of another vase inscription which was found in the southeast trench of the temple. By putting fragments together, a number of vases are now nearly perfect; a design of one is inclosed. . . . When the work at this point is finished, I hope to have a good representative collection of vases of marble and other stones used in the service of the temple which must date not far from 4500 B. C.

"The importance of the temple of plano-convex bricks is daily becoming more evident. Its platforms, which can now be traced on the northwest



FIG. 10.—A Bronze Lion-Headed Object.

and southwest sides, appear to have been more extensive than those of the later temples which stood above it, and to have an appearance of solidity which they lack. I hope that during the next few days its excavation may be completed, and that we may be able to prepare a detailed plan of it.

"Other gangs have been employed during the past week in digging to the bottoms of three perpendicular drains. Two have been reached at the level of the sand. One has twenty-nine rings; the other, twenty-six; the third, which has not yet been finished, has been dug to the depth of thirty-two rings.

"It is getting warm here. The past week the thermometer has been at  $96^{\circ}$  in the coolest place we could find, and at seven o'clock this morning in the court of the house it registered  $112^{\circ}$  in the sun. There were three days of sandstorms this week, and it is on that account that work was discontinued two half-days."

ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER, *Director.*

HASKELL ORIENTAL MUSEUM,

June 18, 1904.

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THE EXPEDITION OF THE ORIENTAL EXPLORATION  
FUND (BABYLONIAN SECTION) OF THE UNI-  
VERSITY OF CHICAGO.

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REPORT NO. 1.

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DR. E. J. BANKS, Field Director of the Expedition (Babylonian Section) of the Oriental Exploration Fund of the University of Chicago, has reported that the excavations at Bismya began on December 25, 1903, and that they are now proceeding to his full satisfaction. With the commissioner, one servant, and a consular kavass, Dr. Banks left Bagdad by carriage for Hilleh on December 11. December 13, in company with Koldewey, he spent examining excavations at Babylon, and on the following day he visited Birs Nimrud. The party reached Diwanieh on December 15, and presented their letter to the muttessarif. No obstacles were placed in their way, and the authorities claimed that it would be unnecessary to take a large guard to Bismya. With two mounted and four foot-soldiers, and four workmen from Diwanieh, the party started for Bismya on December 17, and on the second day reached the village of Selman, the sheikh of the El-Bedin Arabs in whose territory Bismya is located. They were received hospitably by the chief, and on the following day Dr. Banks, with about twenty horsemen, spent a few hours at the ruin, which is three hours from the village. It was the intention of the Field Director to begin the excavations with about forty men, but, on account of the numerous Montefik Arabs who had wandered north to escape the fighting about Nasarieh, the country is unsafe. Selman, who has been informed by the Turkish authorities that he will be held responsible for the safety of the party, was cautious and insisted that it would be unwise to remain at Bismya with less than sixty armed workmen. On December 22 men were placed at work upon two wells in what Dr. Banks believes to be the bed of the old canal Shatt-en-Nil, and also of a later stream which dried up at the breaking of the Hindieh dam. At the end of the second day one of the wells reached a depth of ten meters, when the dry sand suddenly caved in, nearly burying the workmen, and they

were forced to abandon this well. On December 24 work was begun on two more wells, and on the 25th, as he was arranging to send to Hai for some water-skins and to establish a water caravan of several donkeys, the workmen announced that the sand seemed moist, and at nine o'clock on Christmas morning—the best Christmas gift possible—water sprang up through a hole made by a workman's pick, and the water was sweet. There was great excitement among the workmen; they ran about the well dancing, singing, and swinging their baskets in the air. The Field Director was no less pleased than they, and he ordered a sheep to be sacrificed for their baksheesh. A third well progressed slowly. On December 28 water was also found in it. Thus one of the difficulties which have kept excavators from Bismya is settled, and there is every indication that the water will suffice for every season of the year.

Bismya is a very large ruin, only Nippur, Warka, and perhaps Babylon surpassing it in extent. Its height does not exceed twelve meters, but it is considerably higher than Telloh, Fara, and other ruins where excavations have been successfully made. The length of the entire group of mounds, including a small low hill two hundred meters or so to the northwest, is 1,695 meters; the width is 840 meters. In a general way, the ruins form a rough and oblong square. The square may be described as consisting of two parts, separated by a valley running east and west. The northern part, which is by far the larger, is lined on its western edge by nearly a dozen high circular mounds, as if representing so many buildings apparently overlooking the canal. The hill gradually slopes away to the east, which Dr. Banks believes to be the old necropolis. The southern part is not extensive. Its highest hills are in the southwest corner. Dr. Banks is of the opinion that the mound has not been inhabited since Babylonian times. There are no walls visible above the surface; the few heaps of brick which the Arabs have collected have been mistaken for walls. The surface of the mound is smooth, and has not been dug over by the Arab antiquity hunters, as have been most other Babylonian ruins, for Bismya is so far from water, and in so dangerous a locality, that a single man, or a small company of men, could remain there for only a few hours at a time.

Already a village has sprung up at Bismya. Scattered about the Field Director's tent are many houses with women and children; three shops, a carpenter, and a butcher; and even street dogs have found their way there.

Excavations are proceeding with a force of one hundred and forty

men. As yet only the surface has been scratched, and, in no place have they gone to a greater depth than ten meters; but wherever they dig they come upon some wall or tomb. The men, some of whom have worked in every ruin in Babylonia, agree that Bismya is by far the richest and the easiest to excavate. The results which are so rapidly coming in are evidence of this.

"Of the three hundred inscribed fragments which have been found this week a few contract tablets are perfect. Several fragments of a very large tablet with fine writing on each side were found twelve feet below the surface in room 3. In the same room I found a nearly perfect tablet,  $5 \times 8$  inches, with five columns of writing on each side. It is still too wet to clean. The style of writing is very late Babylonian" (January 15).

"Yesterday they came upon the immense mud walls of a palace, and in one of the chambers they found six tablets and a stamped brick of Bur Sin. I therefore take this to be the palace of that important king of Isin, and in a few days when the work at the temple has progressed sufficiently for the present, I shall send all the workmen to this place" (February 17).

"Instead of keeping the men at VI it has seemed to me best to transfer them to III, the palace at the West Corner, which I believe is next in importance to the temple, and there I hope to find the remaining fragments of the cylinder" (March 1).

The Arabs have given the Field Director much trouble. There seems to be a dispute about the ownership of the site of Bismya, and the following letters have passed between the Field Director and the sheikh of the Montefik :

LETTER RECEIVED FROM ABDUL RAZAK, SHEIKH OF THE MONTEFIK.

MR. BANKS, *American* :

We have learned that you are digging in the limits of our property and are bringing from the ground many things. Although, according to the regulations and the law, no one may touch the land of another without the consent of the owner, yet the land which you now inhabit is actually included in the limits of our property, of which we have in our hands the title deeds describing the limits. Since you have come to live in this district without our consent and without obtaining our permission, you are doing business and spending money with other people who have neither power nor right in this district, and who can afford you no protection. Moreover, as you are to spend a large sum of money, it should be with us as the original



owners of this land. Now, as you have knowledge of this entire matter, it is for you to judge what is proper.

(Signed) ABDUL RAZAK IBN FEHAD PASHA.

REPLY TO THE LETTER OF ABDUL RAZAK.

*To the most honorable Abdul Razak, Bey:*

SIR: We have received your kind letter of the 21st in which you inform us that the land of Bismya belongs to you, and is included within your territory according to your deed. Until the present time we have been ignorant of this, and, moreover, Sheikh Selman, sheikh of the El Bedin, to whom the Ottoman government, through the mutessarif of Diwanieh, has recommended us by letter, also asserts that he is the sheikh of this territory, and that no one else has a right to interfere with it.

Consequently we beg you to send us your papers, that we may study them and judge who is in the right. However, if you wish, you may also write to Sheikh Selman in order to settle the matter with him.

(Signed) Field Director of the Excavations at Bismya.

DR. BANKS, *American*.

Dr. Banks has since reported that he and Sheikh Abdul Razak have arranged their difficulties amicably, and that the sheikh is most friendly to him.

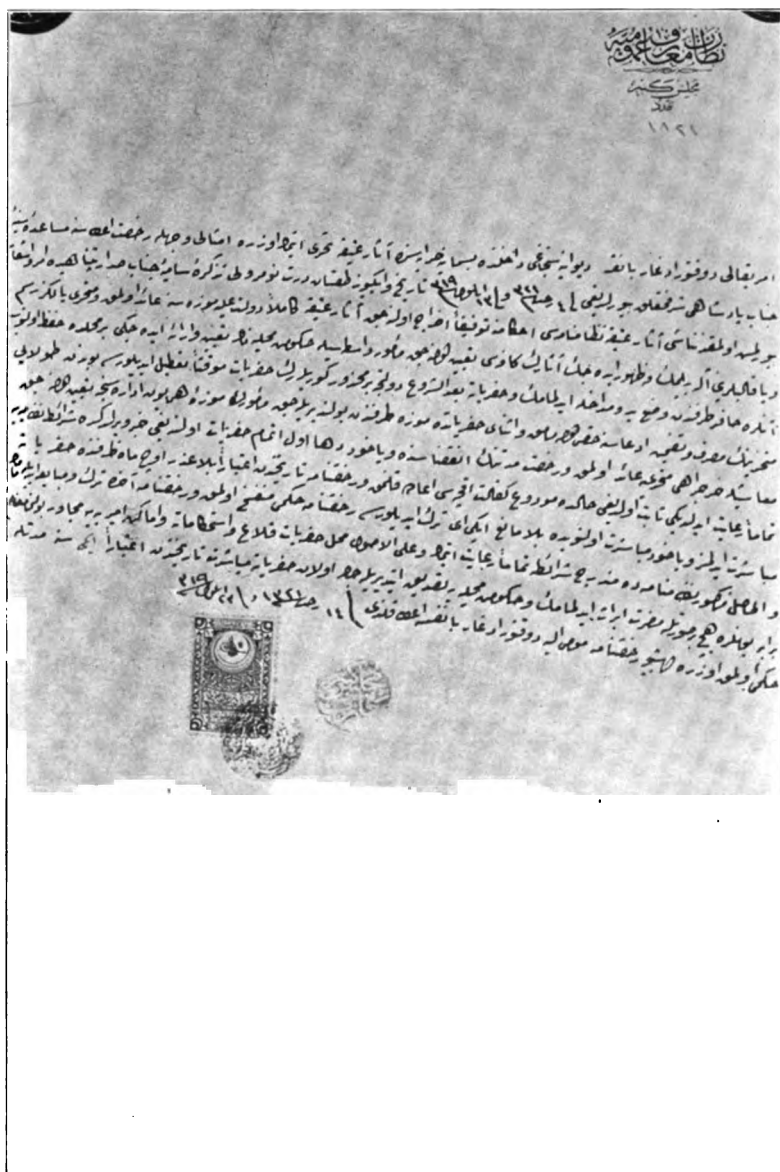
"I am just in receipt of a telegram from Mr. Paige (the architect), saying that he and Mrs. Banks have arrived at Busreh. There is cholera in Busreh, and hence they are quarantined. The conditions in quarantine are extremely miserable and I have sent Hussein the consular kavass to help them. I expect them here in ten days (March 1)."

Bismya is an exceedingly rich ruin, and there is not a yard of it without something of interest. The excavations have already demonstrated what the ruins contain, and if funds were available to employ several hundred workmen, not only would the security, which just at present is very uncertain, be perfect, but the entire ruin could be satisfactorily excavated before the expiration of the irade. The expense of the staff, which is by far the larger part, would not be materially increased.

ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER, *Director*.

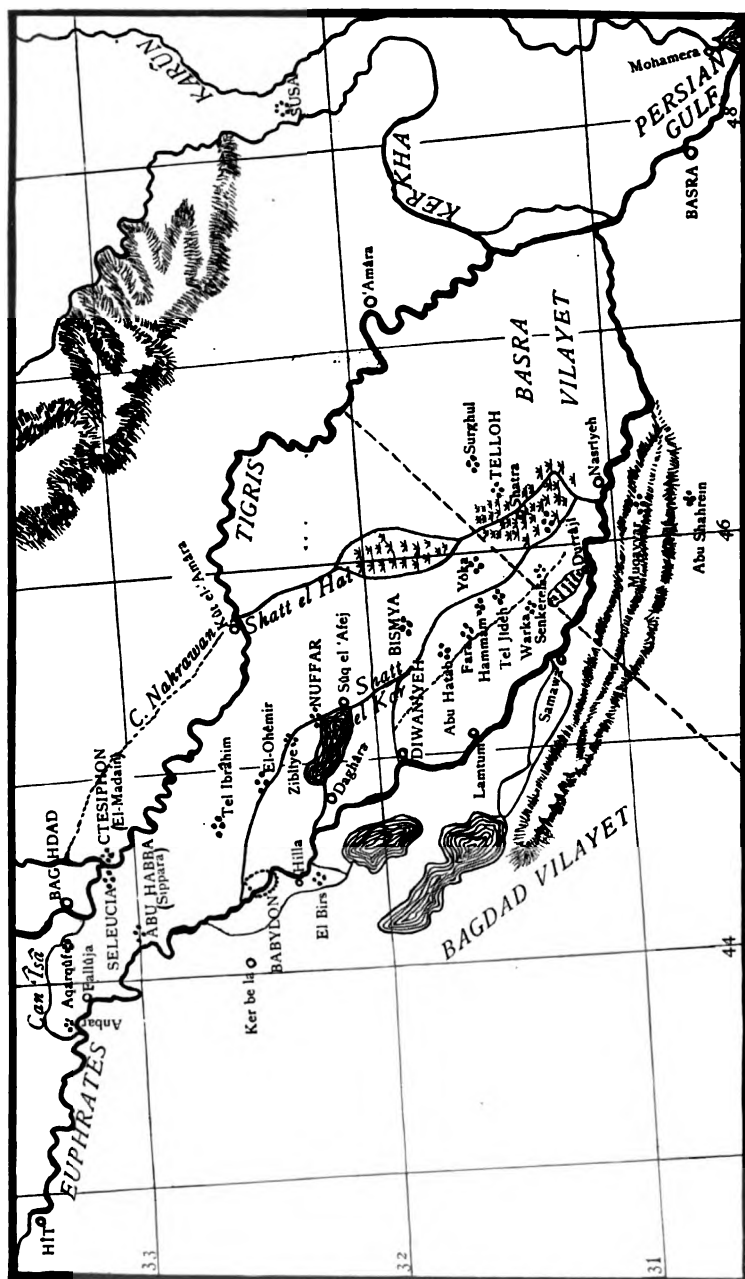
HASKELL ORIENTAL MUSEUM,

May 25, 1904.



A FACSIMILE OF THE IRADE ISSUED BY THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT TO THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

(The firman granted permission from the Sultan to conduct archaeological excavations at Bismya in Babylonia.)



A MAP SHOWING THE LOCATION OF BISMYA, WHERE EXCAVATIONS ARE NOW BEING MADE BY THE ORIENTAL EXPLORATION FUND OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

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*Signed* \_\_\_\_\_

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